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Baxter

1709

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THE TRUE
HISTORY
OF
COUNCILS

Enlarged and Defended,

Against the Deceits of a pretended Vindicator of the Primitive Church, but indeed of the Tympanite & Tyranny of some Prelats many hundred years after Christ. With a Detection of the false History of *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Corke* and *Rosse* in *Ireland*.

And a Specimen of the way by which this Generation confuteth their Adversaries in several Instances.

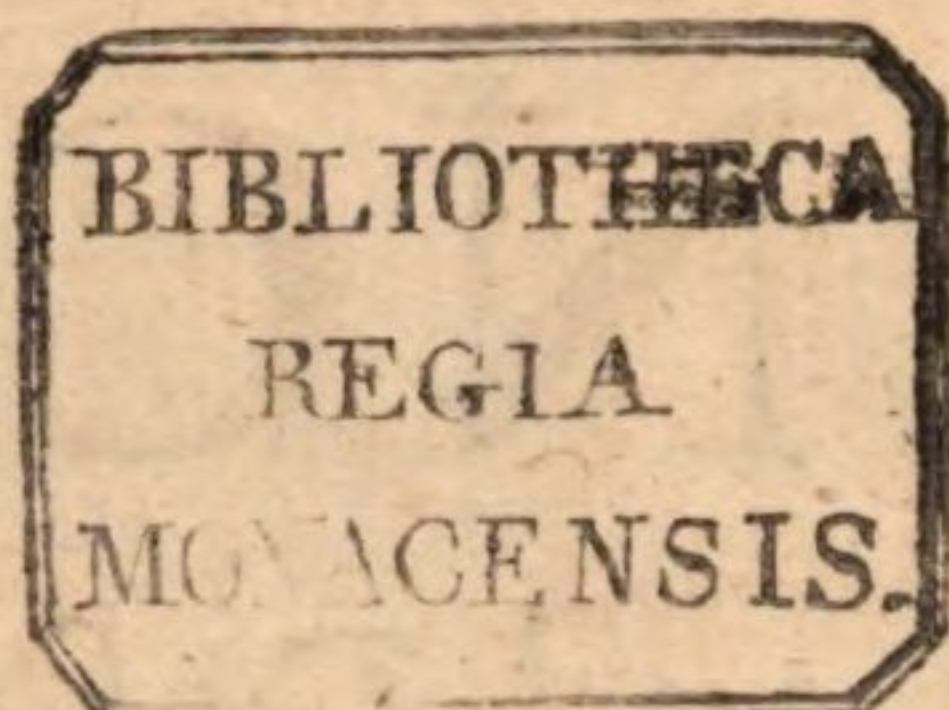
And a Preface abbreviating much of *Ludolphus's* History of *Habassia*.

Written to shew their dangerous Errour, who think that a general Council, or Colledge of Bishops, is a supream Governour of all the Christian World, with power of Universal Legislation, Judgment and Execution, and that Christs Laws without their Universal Laws, are not sufficient for the Churches Unity and Concord.

By RICHARD BAXTER, a Lover of Truth, Love, and Peace, and a Hater of Lying, Malignity, and Persecution.

To which is added by another Hand, a Defence of a Book, Entituled, *No Evidence for Diocesan Churches*. Wherein what is further produced out of Scripture, and ancient Authors, for Diocesan Churches, is discussed.

London, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst*, at the Bible and Three Crowns, at the lower end of *Cheapside*, near *Mercers Chappel*. 1682.



BIBLIOTHECA

REGIA

MONACENSIS.



To the Pious and Peaceable Protestant-Conforming Ministers, who are against our Subjection to a Foreign Jurisdiction. The notice of the Reason of this Book, with a Breviate of Ludolphus's Habassian History.

Reverend Brethren,

WHen after the effects of our calamitous divisions, the rejoicing Nation supposed they had been united, in our King newly restored (by a General and Army which had been fighting against him, invited & strengthened by the City, & many others) an Act of Oblivion seemed to have prepared for future amity; some little thought that men were about going further from each other than they were before: But the Malady was evident to such of us as were called to attempt a Cure, and neither the Causes nor the Prognosticks hard to be known. A certain and cheap Remedy was obvious; but no Pleas, no Petitions, could get men to accept it. The Symptoms then threatned far worse than yet hath come to pass, God being more merciful to us than mistaken men. We were then judged criminal for foreseeing and foretelling what Fruit the Seed then sown would bring forth: And since then the Sowers say the Foretellers are the cause of all. We quickly saw, that instead of hoping for any Concord, and healing of the Bones which then were broken, it

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would become our Care and too hard work, to endeavour to prevent a greater breach. Though we thought Two Thousand such Ministers as were silenced would be mist, when others thought it a blessing to be rid of them, we then feared, and some hoped, that no small number more would follow them.

It was not you that cast such out; nor is it you that wish the continuance and increase of the Causes. We agree with you in all points of the Christian Reformed Religion: and concerning the evil of all the sins which we fear by Conforming to commit, though we agree not of the meaning of those Oaths, Promises, Professions, and Practices, which are the matter feared. We live in unfeigned Love and Communion with those that love Truth, Holiness and Peace, notwithstanding such differences as these. God hath not laid our Salvation or Communion upon our agreeing about the meaning of every word or Sentence in the Bible, much less on our agreeing of the sense of every word in all the Laws and Canons of men.

Two things we earnestly request of you, for the sake of the Christian Religion, this trembling Nation, and your own and others Souls. 1. That you will in your Parish Relations seriously use your best endeavours to promote true Godliness and Brotherly Love, and to heal the sad Divisions of the Churches: We believe that it must be much by the Parochial Ministers and Assemblies, that Piety and Protestant Verity must be kept up: And what we may not do, we pray that you may do it who are allowed. 2. That you will join with us against all Foreign Jurisdiction, Ecclesiastical or Civil.

The Party which we dread I have given you some account of in my Reply to Mr. Dodwell. By their Fruits you may know them. 1. They are such as labour to make our Breaches wider, by rendring those that they dissent from

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from odious, which commonly is by false accusations; They call out for Execution by the Sword against those that dare not do as they do, and cry, Go on, abate nothing; they are factious Schismatics, rebellious: They might easily have learnt this Language, without staying long in the Universities, and without all the Brimstone Books that teach it them. An invisible Tutor can soon teach it them without Book. He that hateth his Brother is a murderer, and hath not eternal Life abiding in him. 2. They are for an universal humane Government, with power of Legislation and Judgment over the whole Christian World. How to call it they are not yet agreed, whether Aristocratical, or Monarchical, or mixt. Some of them say that it is in the Collegium Episcoporum, governing per Literas formatas, for fear lest if they say, It is in Councils, they should presently be confuted by the copious Evidence which we produce against them. And yet they may well think that men will ask them [When did all the Bishops on Earth make Laws for all the Christian World, or pass Sentences on Offenders without ever meeting together? And how came they to know each others minds? and which way the major Vote went? And what, and where are those Laws which we must all be governed by, which neither God nor Councils made? The Canons were all made by Councils.

If you say that I describe men so mad, as that I must be thought to wrong them, I now only ask you, whether our Case be not dismal when such men as you call mad, have power to bring us and keep us in our Divisions; or to do much towards it without much contradiction?

But others who know that such palpable darkness will not serve their cause, do openly say, that it is General Councils which are the Legislative and judging Gover-

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nours to the whole Church on Earth, as one Political Body. For they know that we have no other Laws besides Gods and theirs, pretended to be made for all the World. But when the Cases opened by me in the Second part of my Key for Catholicks, and else where, do silence them, this Fort also is deserted by them. Even Albert. Pighius hath rendred it ridiculous. 1. If this be the specifying or unifying Head, or summa Potestas of the Universal Church, then it is not monarchical but Aristocratical. 2. Then the Church is no Church, when for hundreds of Tears there are no General Councils, an essential part being wanting. And they that own but the 4 or 6 first General Councils, make the Church no Church, or to have been without its essentiating Government these Thousand Tears. And by what proof, besides their incredible Word, can they tell the Church, that they are subject to the six first General Councils, and yet not to the seventh, eighth, ninth, or any since? 3. I have oft (against Johnson, and elsewhere,) proved that there never was an universal Council of all the Churches, but only of part of those in the Roman Empire; Were there no proof but from the recorded Names of the Callers of Councils, and all the Subscribers, it is unanswerable. 4. Who knows not that the Church is now divided into about Twelve Sects, all condemning one another? And that they are under the Power of various Princes, and many Enemies to Christianity, who will never agree to give them leave to travel to General Councils? And who shall call them, or how long time will you give the Bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, the Jacobites, Abassines, Nestorians, Armenians, Muscovites, and all the rest, to learn so much of each others Languages, as to debate intelligibly matters of such moment, as Laws for all the World must be. Twenty more such absurdities, make
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this Aristocracy over all the World, as mad a conceit as that forementioned: And when we know already what the Christian Parties hold, and that the said Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Circassians, Mengrelians, Greeks, Muscovites, &c. are far more than either Protestants or Papists, do we not know that in Councils if they have free Votes they will judge accordingly against both.

But this sort of men are well aware, that the Church is always, but Councils are rare, and it's, at least, uncertain whether ever there will be more; and the Articles of the Church of England say, They may not be called without the Will of Princes; and the Church is now under so many contrary Princes as are never like to agree hereto. And they know that some body must call them, and some body must preside, &c. Therefore they are forced to speak out, and say, that the Pope is St. Peters Successor, the prime Patriarch, and principium Unitatis, and must call Councils, and as President moderate and difference the lawful from the unlawful: And that in the Intervals of Councils he as Patriarch is to govern at least the West, and that every Diocesane being ex Officio, the Representer of his Diocess, and every Metropolitane of his Province, and every Patriarch of his Patriarchate, what these do all the Bishops on Earth do. And so the Riddle of a Collegium Pastorum is opened, and all cometh but to this, that the Italians are Papists, who would have the Pope rule Arbitrarily, as above Councils; but the French are no Papists, who would have the Pope rule only by the Canons or Church Parliaments, and to be singulis Major, at universis Minor: This is the true Reformation of Church-Government, in which the English should (by them) agree. And now you know what I am warning you to beware of.

*We are for a twist & conjunction of the civil Power
and*

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and the Ecclesiastical, and for Christian Kingdoms, and Churches, so far national as to be ruled and protected by Christian Kings, in the greatest Love and Concord that can be well obtained: And for Councils necessary to such ends: But we are not for setting up a Foreign Jurisdiction over King and Kingdom, Church and Souls, upon the false claim of incapable Usurpers. One of your selves in a small Book called, The whole Duty of Nations, and another, Dr. Isaac Barrow against Papal and all Foreign Jurisdiction, (published by Dr. Tillotson) have spoken our thoughts so fully, as that we only intreat you to take those for our sense, and concurr with us therein for our common Peace and Safety.

We reverence all Councils so far as they have done good; we are even for the Advice and Concord of Foreigners; but not their Jurisdiction.

If you know the difference between an Assembly of Princes consulting for Peace and Concord, and a Senate to govern all those Princes as their Subjects, you will know the difference between our Reverence to Foreign Councils, and the Obedience to them now challenged as the only way to avoid Schism. I hope you will join with us in being called Schismaticks both to Italian and French Papists.

*The great Instrument of such mens Design being to over-extol Councils called General, and to hide their Miscarriages, and so by false History to deceive their credulous party who cannot have while to search after the truth, I took it to be my Duty to tell such men the truth out of the most credible Historians, especially out of the Councils themselves as written by our greatest Adversaries; that they may truly know what such Bishops and Councils have done. Among others this exasperated a Writer, (by name called Mr. Morrice,) who would make men believe that I have wronged Councils and Bishops,
and*

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and falsified History: and divers other accusations he brings, to which I have tendered you mine Answer. I have heard men reverence the English Synods, who yet thought that the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th Excommunicating Canons and the late Engines to cast out 2000 Ministers, proved them such to England as I will not denominate. I have heard men reverence the present Ministry and Universities, who yet have said, that they fear more hurt from the worser part of them to England, than they should do from an Army of Foreign Enemies whom we might resist.

I write much, and in great weakness and haste, and have not time for due perusal: And my judgment is rather to do it when I think it necessary, as I can, than not at all. And Mr. M. would make his Readers believe, when he hath found a word of Theodorets hastily mistaken, and Calami translated Quils, and such matter for a few trifling cavils, that he hath vindicated the Councils and Bishops, and proved me a false Historian.

And can we have a harder censure of General Councils than his own Reverend Lords and Patrons pass upon them, who tell us that there is but six of all the multitude to be owned. If all the rest are to be rejected, I think the faults of those six may be made known, against their Designs who would bring us under a Foreign Jurisdiction, by the art of over-magnifying General Councils.

I confess these men have great advantage against all that such as I can say; for they have got a sort of Followers who will take their words, and are far from having will or wit impartially themselves to read the Histories and try the case; but will swear that we are all Rogues and Schismatics, and unfit to be suffered: And they have got young Reverend Priests, who can cry, away with them, execute the Laws; being conscious how much

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less able they are to confute us, than the Gaoler is: But this is but a Dream: The morning is near, when we shall all awake. Perhaps you remember the jeasting story with which Sagitarius begins the Preface to his Metaphysicks: Indeed the hysterical suffocating Vapours do ordinarily so work, that in a place of Perfumes or sweetness the Women faint and swoon away as dead; and Castory or Assa Fætida, called Stercus Diaboli, or such like stink, reviveth them like a Cordial. And worse vapours affect the men we speak of: Motions of Love they cannot bear; but reviling and false accusing Books and Speeches are Food and Medicine to them.

One of my chief Controversies with Mr. M, is about the Acts and Effects of the Councils of Ephesus and Calcedon, about the Nestorian and Eutychian and Monothelite Controversies. That the issue was most doleful Divisions of the Christian World, unbealed to this day, is past the denial of sober men. Whether this was long of the Bishops and Councils is the question. I have fully proved that Nestorius, Cyril, and Dioscorus were all of the same Faith and differed but in wording the same sense: And if so, judge how much the World is beholden to these Councils of Bishops: But this Mr. M. taketh for a false Report.

Because it is our most important difference, I will here give the Reader an account of the Effect of these Councils even to our times, in the great Empire of Habassia, out of the much praised History of Job Ludolphus.

Lib. 3. c. 8. In order to declare the Religion of the Habassines he first declareth the Success of the Council of Calcedon, thus, --- [Damnatus Dioscorus Patriarcha Alexandrinus tanquam Eutychis Defensor & Hæresiarcha, verberibus quoque mulctatus & in exilium ejectus fuit, alio Patriarcha Catholico in locum ejus successo---

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Atrox exinde in Ecclesia Alexandrina Schisma, cæde & sanguine continuatum, in causa fuit, ut non solum multo maxima pars Ecclesiæ Alexand. à reliqua Ecclesia Catholica avelleretur, sed & Ægyptus ipsa, attritis incolarum viribus, in Saracenorum potestatem veniret; qui discordiâ Christianorum, utrosque oppresserunt; ut exiguum, proh dolor! vestigium Christianæ Religionis nunc in Ægypto supersit. Hæc atque alia talia Scriptores nostri.

And the loss of Egypt and the South, so strengthened the Enemies of Christianity, that this breach let in Destruction to the whole Christian Empire: But the loss of the whole Empire and Introduction of Mahometanism, in the Eyes of our fiery Canoneers, is no dishonour to these Councils: It is but saying, It was all long of Dioscorus, and the Hereticks: And were not these Hereticks also Prelates and Prelatical?

But he proceedeth, [“ But the Æthiopians thus report it, that *Dioscorus* and his Successors, and their followers did greatly complain of the Injury done them; for he neither followed *Eutyches*, nor ever denied or confounded the Divinity or Humanity really existing in Christ, but only was unwilling to acknowledge the word [Nature] to be common to the Divinity and Humanity of Christ; and only avoided this, lest contrary to the mind of the Catholick Church, and the Decrees of the General Council at *Ephesus*, two persons of Christ should be asserted: For that would follow, if we admit Two Natures, and two Wills in Christ. And the word [*φύσις*] [Nature] signifying something born or created, no way fitteth the Divinity: Nor can the mind conceive of two Wills, in two Natures united in one person, without Division, Separation, or Distance: And the Humane Nature exalted into the state of Glory, doth not will, do, or suffer the

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“ same which it willed, did and suffered in the state of
“ Exinanition; and so in the present state of Glory,
“ the humanity doth neither will nor judge any thing
“ but what the Divinity at once willeth and judgeth.
“ And this being our known Judgment, the question
“ seemeth idle, and a meer strife of Words, for which
“ Christians should not have hated one another. At *Cal-*
“ *cedon* they proceeded from Words to Blows, and
“ fought more than they disputed: And *Dioscorus* was
“ condemned absent, neither heard nor well understood,
“ as obstinate and guilty of Heresie in Hatred and En-
“ vy rather than by right.]

This is the Habassines Opinion of the Council and Con-
troversie, false no doubt in our Canoneers Judgment, (for
alas they are unlearned men;) but indeed much truer
and wiser than their Adversaries.

He proceedeth, ‘Primo reperi omni dubio carere, quod
‘ Habessini rejiciunt consilium Chalcedonense-- 2. Ob-
‘ servavi eos in hoc errore esse, quasi Patres Concilii Cal-
‘ ced. Hypostasim Christi dividere, & contra præcedens
‘ Concilium Ephesinum ex una duas personas facere vo-
‘ luerint-- Hanc ob causam damnant Leonem Papam, &
‘ in cœlum extollunt suum Dioscorum tanquam Ortho-
‘ doxæ fidei hyperaspisten qui justo zelo diploma Leonis
‘ ad se datum dilaceravit; eumque Martyri assimilant, ob
‘ accepta verbera, excussos dentes & evulsam barbam.]
(But it eased the Spleen of the Bps. at present, and then
all the following loss seems tolerable.) He addeth, [4. Con-
‘ stat ex multis locis, quod utrumque abstractum, Divi-
‘ nitatem & Humanitatem, conjunctim in Christo aperte
‘ confiteantur. Quid autem hoc aliud est, quam agnosce-
‘ re duas simul naturas in Christo. 5. Tellezius ex Rela-
‘ tione Patrum societatis testatur [utramque naturam]
‘ reperiri in eorum libris. 6. He shews that the Habassines
‘ words

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words have various signification, and by two natures, they mean two Persons. - Which (saith Ludolphus) when I read and consider, I find all to be confused and perplexed: There is no certain state of the question, and the words are out of measure equivocal. Perhaps *Eutyches* himself could not tell what sort of Nature was made of two, and what was its name, and what was its qualities: But that he was such a fool as to think that the Natures in Christ were so confused as Water is with Wine, and that in so absurd an Opinion he had most wise men agreeing with him; this almost exceedeth all belief: Certainly the *Ethiopians* are not guilty of so gross a Heresie. Wherefore I confess I cannot understand what those frequent Disputations were, which the Jesuits had with the Habassines, of two Natures in Christ, in which they say they had still the worse, being convicted by their own Books, which I easily believe, seeing they most willingly confess Christs Divinity and Humanity. To me it seemeth likely only that they could not agree in words. Do but explain to them that by Natures in Christ we mean his Divinity and Humanity, & then ask them which Nature is it that faileth in Christ. Most certainly they will answer that neither the Divinity nor Humanity failed, but both continue eternally. And so it's plain, that they take the word Nature in a far other sense than we, and that the true state of the question with them is, whether and by what common Name the two abstracts are to be denominated, which they undoubtedly confess.

Now good Mr. Morrice, (with your Lords) you must pardon me, (or choose) for thinking that it is not necessary to Salvation, or to keep the Church from utter confusion, to be such Criticks in Grammar or Metaphysics, as to resolve the questions about the sence of Nature,

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ture, and Unity, or Duality, which you no better resolve your selves; I say, it is not necessary by Gods Law, but by the Councils: And if I be a Schismatick for holding that Christs Universal Law is so sufficient for his Church, as that a Legislative Power in Councils to make such Laws as shall tear all to pieces the Churches for 1300 Years, and teach our Holy Fathers to damn Millions of the Innocent, is not either necessary or desireable; a Schismatick I will continue.

Ludolphus proceeding to open the ambiguity of the words, addeth, [' A famous Country-man of ours, who ' anno 1634. dwelling in Egypt, read the Books of the ' Cophties (Pet. Heylin of Lubeck.) judged that [the ' Dissent of the Parties was more in their fear of the Se- ' quele, than in the matter itself: For the Greeks would ' obviate the Hereticks who confound Christs Divinity ' and Humanity: And the Cophties those who feign two ' Persons in Christ.] And if indeed this be the case, that ' the Fight either of old was, or still is only about the ' sense of words; verily no kind of Tears can be so sharp, as ' to suffice to weep for this unhappy Word-War; No Breast ' can be so hard which would not mourn for the unhappy ' Contentions of them, to whom Christ by his own example solicitously commended the strictest Bond of Charity: No mind can be so cruel, which for the name of ' [Nature] would loose the knot of Concord between ' those whose Nature the eternal Word assumeth into ' his most sacred Hypostasis.]

Fie, Mr. Ludolphus, can you so well describe Ethiopia, and no better know your Neighbours? Come into England and you may soon know the Reverend and Right Reverend, who will not only defend this Councils Acts, and condemn those that be not of their mind, but are ready to do the like themselves, and triumph over the thousands
silenced

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silenced, as they judge, for lesser things; yea, and make that Councils Canons such a Law to the Universal Church, as that all are Schismaticks that obey it not.

But Ludolphus yet considering, addeth, [But such is the Infirmity of our most corrupt Nature, that where once Ambition hath begun, and from Ambition Emulation, and from Emulation Envy, and from Envy Hatred, the mind possessed with (such) affections, no more perceiveth Truth, but as with Ears and Eyes shut up, neither heareth nor seeth, how or with what mind any thing is spoken or written by the other side.

O Sir, now I perceive you understand more than you seemed to do.

But yet the History is behind. The Pope hath long had a great desire to be the Church Governour of Habassia, but could never come to know it, much less to bear Rule over it. At last the Portugals getting possession of some Maritime parts, whence with much difficulty it was possible to come to them, the Pope got them to help the Habassines in a dangerous War which they had against their Neighbour Mahometanes and Heathens, on condition that the Habassines would receive a Patriarch and Jesuites from Rome: The Portugals Guns, (which that Country had not) and their own necessity, made the Habassines consent: The Roman Patriarch and Jesuits came over. The custom of Habassia had long been to receive a Metropolitan called their Abuna, from the Patriarch of Alexandria, who being a poor unlearned Subject, and almost Slave to the Turk, made Abunas and Priests as unlearned as himself: when the Jesuits came furnished with Arts and Sciences, the matter came to long Disputes; for the People, especially the Monks and the Rulers, were loth to change their old accustomed Religion, called the Alexandrian, for that called the Romane:
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The King would needs have it done by hearing both parties speak: But the learned Jesuites were still too hard for the unlearned Habassines: One King seemed to like the Romanes, but his Son (Claudius) stiffly resisted them: Others afterward again needed help, and received them, and by their Disputes seemed really to be for them, seeing how much the Jesuites excelled their Priests; specially K. Zadengelus, being taken with the Jesuits Preaching, when all his own Clergy only read Liturgies & Homilies, & never preacht: He set up the Romane Patriarch & power, & K. Sulneus after him swore Obedience to the Pope, and resolutely establisht Popery: Disputes brought him to it: And the Jesuites knowing that it must be something which seemed to be of Weight, which must make the Empire submit to a Change of their Religion, accuse the Abassines as erring with the Eutychians, in rejecting the Council of Calcedon, and denying two Natures and Wills in Christ. This was chosen as the main Subject of the great Disputes: The Emperour was convinced of their Heresie, and became a resolute Proselite to Rome: And Popery Eight Years had the upper ruling hand.

*But all this while the Empire was in discontent: The Royal Family and the Sub-Governours oft broke out into Rebellion. To be short, many bloody battels were fought. The Emperour usually had the Victory: But when one field of blood was dried up, a new Rebellion still Sprung up. The Papists still told the K. that God gave him the Victory for owning his Church and Cause. His Rulers, Priests, and Monks told him he killed his Subjects, and in the end would lose his Empire for nothing but bare words. After many fights in the last about Eight Thousand of his Subjects called his Enemies, were killed: The Kings own adherents being no friends to the Roman Change, desired the King to view the dead, and made to him presently
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this Speech: 'These were not Heathens nor Mahometanes,
' in whose death we might justly rejoice: They were Chri-
' stians; they were formerly your Subjects, our Countrymen,
' and near in Body some of them to you, and some to us:
' How much better might so many valiant Breasts have
' been set against the deadly Enemies of your Kingdom.
' It's no victory which is got upon Citizens; with the
' Sword by which you kill them, you stab your self. Those
' whom we persecute with so terrible a War do not hate
' us, but only are against that Worship which we force
' them to: How many have we already killed for the
' changing of Religion (*Sacrorum?*) How many more
' are there yet to be killed? What end will there be of
' Fighting? Give over we beseech you, to drive them to
' your new Religious things (*nova sacra,*) lest they give
' over to obey you, else there will never be a safe peace.]

Yea, the Kings eldest Son and his Brother got the Gallans
(Heathens,) *that had been Souldiers for the King, to tell*
him they would fight against his Dissenting Christians no
more. The K. growing weary of War, and seeing and
hearing all this, changed his mind, and called a Council,
in which it was agreed, [That the Alexandrian Religi-
on should be restored: And to effect this they declared,
that indeed the Roman Religion was the very same:
Both said that Christ is true God and true Man: And to
say, There is one Nature, or there are two, are words of
small moment, and not worthy the ruining of the Em-
pire,] And thus the King was brought to give Liberty of
Religion to the Dissenters.

The Romane Patriarch understanding all this, goeth
with the Bishop and Jesuits to the King, *and made this*
Speech to him, ['I thought we had been lately Conque-
' rours, but behold we are conquered: The Rebels that
' were conquered have obtained that which they desired:

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Before the Fight was the time of Vowing and Promising,
but now is the time of Performing: The Catholick and
Portugal Soldiers got the Victory, God prospering the
Catholick Religion: But now what thanks is given him?
When it is decreed the other day, that the Alexandrian
Religion shall be freely permitted. And here you
consult not with the Bps. and Religious men, but the
dull Vulgar, and Gallanes and Mahometanes, yea and
Women pass Sentence of Religion: Bethink you how
many Victories you have won against the Rebels since
you followed the Romane Religion. Remember that it
was not as constrained by Arms or Fear, but induced by
free Will, that you embraced it as the truer. Nor did
we come to you of our own accord, but were sent by
the Pope of *Rome*, the highest Prelate, and the King of
Portugal, and this at your Request. Nor did they ever
intend any thing (against you) but only to join your
Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*. Take heed therefore
lest you provoke them to just Indignation: They are
far off you, but God is near you, and will demand the
satisfaction which is due to them, you will inure an in-
delible Blot on the Lyon of the tribe of *Judah*, with
whom your Ensigns shine; and will imprint a stain on
your Glory and your Nation: In a word, you will cause
so many sins by your Apostasie, as, that I may not see
them, nor the Vengeance of God, which hangeth over
you, I desire you to command that my Head may be
presently cut off.] Thus lay the Parriarch, Bp. and Je-
suits at the Kings feet in tears.

*Readers, Lest you think that I have mistranslated,
to fit the matter to our times, I intreat the learned to
try it by the Original: You see that the things that are,
have been, and that sin so blindeth and hardeneth sin-
ners, that one Age and Country will take no warning by
many others.*

Yours

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You see here that the Name and Interest of God and Religion, and the Church may be pleaded by a blind ambitious Clergy, for the murdering of Thousands for a bare difference of Names and Words, and Gods Judgments threatned against those that will not go on in killing and destroying, and making Kingdoms desolate by Cruelty: And that the hurt Satan doth by Witches and Highway Robbers, is a Flea-biting in comparison of what he doth by ambitious Prelates and valiant Soldiers. The dimmallest Story of the success of Witches is that of the Swedes Witches, by Mr. Hornick translated; But what is the killing of now and then one, to the Murder of so many Thousands, the Ruine of so many Kingdoms, the Silencing of so many Thousand faithful Preachers, the Persecuting of so many Thousand godly Christians, and the engaging the Christian World in Hatred and War, as the Popish Prelates have been guilty of?

But you'l expect the Answer of King Suseus to the Patriarch.

*Ludolphus thus proceedeth, (li. 3. c. 12.) ['The King
'unmoved briefly answereth, that he had done as much
'as he was able, but could do no more. And that the business was not about the total change of Religion, but
'only about the grant or (Liberty) of certain Rites (or
'Ceremonies.)*

(O Sir, you had been happier if you had known that sooner!)

*'The Patriarch answered, that he himself had indulged some things, and was about to indulge more, which
'concern not the substance of Faith, (you are for Toleration till the Fires are kindled,) so be it another Edict might be proclaimed, that there might be no other change. The King gave him no other Answer, but that the next day he would send some to treat with the Fathers.*

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They that were for the Alexandrian Religion go to the Emperour, and by *Abba Athanasius* request, that by a publick Edict he would allow his Subjects to embrace the Religion of their Ancestors, else the Kingdom would be ruined. The King consented, and sent some to the Patriarch, to acquaint him with it. These upbraid him with the many defections of the People. ' *Ælius*, ' *Caabrael*, *Ticla-George*, *Sertzax*, with many *Myriades* ' slain: And that the *Lastenses* yet fought for the old Religion, and all ran to them. But the King was deserted, ' all the *Habassines* desiring their old Religion. But that ' they that would might follow the Roman Religion, ' &c.

The Papists seeing that they could get no better but a Toleration, sent to the King this Answer by Emanuel d' Almeyda, That [' the Patriarch understood, that both ' Religions were tolerated in his Kingdom, and now he ' loved *Ethiopia* equally with his own Country *Portugal*, and would presently grant as much as might stand ' with the purity of Doctrine, (*viz.* of the two Natures) ' But there must be difference made between those who ' had not yet received the Roman Religion, and with ' them they might agree; but those that had given up ' themselves to it, and had used the sacred Confession ' and Communion, might not be suffered to return to the ' Alexandrian Religion without grievous Sin.] By this temperament the Patriarch would have kept the King and all his Court; for these had professed the Roman Religion. But the King weakened with Age and Sicknes gave them no other Answer but, [' But how can that be ' done, for I have not now the Power of the Kingdom?] Home went the Prelates and Jesuits: And presently the Trumpets and Drums sounded, and the Crier proclaimed, [' Oyes, Oyes, (*Hear ye*) We first proposed to you ' the

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‘the Romane Religion, taking it for good; but an in-
‘numerable multitude of men perished, with *Ælius, Ca-*
‘*brall, Tecla-George, Sertzaxo*, and with the Country
‘*Lastenses*; Wherefore we now grant you the Religion
‘of your Ancestors: It shall be lawful hereafter for the
‘Alexandrian Clergy to frequent their Churches, and to
‘have their *Arculæ* for the Eucharist, and to read their
‘Liturgy in the old manner: So farewell, and Rejoice.]

It is incredible with what joy this Edict was received by the People, and how the whole Camps applauded and rejoiced, as if they had been delivered from an invading Enemy, specially the Monks and Clergy having felt the Fathers greatest hatred, did lift up to Heaven their joyful voices: The Vulgar Men and Women danced, the Soldiers prayed all Prosperity to the Emperour: They broke their own Rosaries, and other mens as they met them, and burned some, saying, ‘That it was enough for
‘them that they BELIEVE CHRIST TO BE TRUE GOD
‘and TRUE MAN, and THERE IS NO NEED OF
‘DISPUTING ABOUT TWO NATURES, *and so they*
returned to the old way.

It's worth the noting here, that the Papists way was cast out as Novelty, and the other kept on the account of Antiquity: For Habassia never had received the Pope till the Portugals came to help them. Yet are they not ashamed here to call theirs the old Religion, because when they had banished the old, [which was simple Christianity] we returned to it by Reformation.

Besides the Doctrine of Two Natures, about which they saw they agreed in sense, while the Jesuites Hereticated them, three things much alienated the Habassines: 1. Denying them the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds. 2. Rebaptising their Children. 3. Reordaining their Priests.

This

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This much being done, the Papists were by degrees soon overcome. 1. The Patriarch is accused for preaching Sedition. 2. Then the Temples are taken from them, and they break their own Images lest the Habassines should do it in scorn. 3. On Sept. 16. 1632. the King died, and his Son Basilides was against them. 4. Ras-Seel-axus their most powerful friend is banished, and others after him. 5. Upon more Accusations their Farmes, Goods, and Guns are seised on. 6. They are confined to Fremona: Thence they petition again for new Disputations: The King Basilides answereth them thus by writing:

['What I did heretofore was done by my Fathers
'command, whom I must needs obey, so that by his
'conduct I made War against my Kindred and Sub-
'jects. But after the last Battle in *Wainadega*, both learn-
'ed and unlearned, Clergy and Laity, Civil and Military
'men, great and small, fearlessly said to my Father the
'King, How long shall we be vexed & tired with unprofita-
'ble things? How long shall we fight against our Brethren
'and near Friends, cutting off our Right Hand with our
'Left? How long shall we turn our Swords against our
'own Bowels, when yet by the Roman Belief we know
'nothing but what we knew before? For what the Ro-
'manes call two Natures in Christ, the Divinity and Hu-
'manity, we knew it long ago, from the beginning even
'unto this day: For we all believe that the same Christ
'our Lord is perfect God and perfect Man; perfect God
'in his Divinity, and perfect Man in his Humanity: But
'whereas those Natures are not separated, nor divided,
'(for each of them subsisteth, not by itself, but conjunct
'with the other) therefore we say not that they are two
'things, for one is made of two, yet so as that the Na-
'tures are not confounded or mixed in his Being. This
'Controversie therefore is of small moment among us:
'Nor

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‘ Nor did we fight much for this; but specially for this
‘ cause, that the Blood was denied the Laity in the Eu-
‘ charist, whenas Christ himself said in the Gospel, ex-
‘ cept ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his
‘ Blood ye shall not have eternal Life.--- But they detest-
‘ ed nothing more than the Reiteration of Baptisms, as
‘ if before the Fathers rebaptized us we had been Hea-
‘ thens or Publicanes: And that they Reordained our
‘ Priests and Deacons.--- You too late offer us now that
‘ which might have been yielded at the first; for there is
‘ now no returning to that which all look at with the
‘ greatest horreur and detestation, and therefore all fur-
‘ ther Conferences will be in vain.]

*In short the Patriarch and all the rest were utterly
banished out of the Empire. Ludolph. l. 3. c. 13.*

*I add one but thing (ex cap. 14.) to end the story. As the
new Alexandrian Abuna was coming out of Egypt, the
foresaid Dr. Peter Heyling of Lubeck being then in
Egypt, took that opportunity to see Habassia, and went
with him: On the Borders at Suagena they met the depart-
ing Roman Patriarch; where Peter Heyling enters the
List with him, & so handled him as made it appear, that it
was only the poor Habassine Priests unlearnedness, which
had given the Jesuits their Success: And the Patriarch
at the parting, sighing said to his Company, If this Do-
ctor come into Habassia, he will precipitate them in-
to the extreamest Heresie. But what became of him is
yet unknown.*

*And so much for this History of the Roman Conquest in
Habassia, by the Calcedon Council, and the Hereticating
the Habassines, about the one or two Natures, and the
Eight years possession Popery got by it, and the many
bloody Battles fought for it, the Prelates powerful Ora-
tory for it, and the Peoples more powerful against it;
the*

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The Kings mind changed by sad experience, and the Papists finally Extirpated.

And it is exceeding observable, that their very Victories were their Ruine, and the last and greatest which killed 8000, was it that overcame them, when they thought they had done their work. And those that conquered for them drove them out, when they considered what they had done: But had it not been better known at a cheaper rate?

This Tragedy is but the fruit of the Council which Mr. Morrice justifieth: The fruit of a Church determination above 1200 years ago. If you had seen the Fields of blood in Habassia, would it not have inclined you to my Opinion against Mr. M. Or if he had seen it, would it not have changed his mind? I doubt it would not, because the Silencings and Calamities in England no more move such men; and because they still call for Execution against those that obey not all their Oaths and Ceremonies, and will abate nothing, what ever it may cost the Land, by the strengthening of them that are for our Division: And because the 1200 years experience hath not yet been enough to make them see the faultiness of such Bishops & Councils, nay, because they yet take not all Gods Laws in Nature and Scripture for sufficient to Rule the Catholick Church in Religion, without the Laws of these same Councils, which have had such effects: But some Bishops and Clergy-Men yet stand to it, that All must be taken as Schismatics who obey not these same Councils Decrees, as the Laws of the Universal Church.

And if Ludolphus and the Abassines can say so much against Hereticating those called Eutychians, much more may be said for the Nestorians, to prove that the Controversy was but verbal.

*There is in Biblioth. Pat. To. 6. p. 131. the Missa quâ
utun-*

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untur antiqui Christiani Episcopatus Angamallensis in Montanis Mállabarici Regni apud Indos Orientales, emendata & ab erroribus blasphemiiisque Nestorianorum expurgata per Alexium Menesium Archiepiscopum Goanum an. 1599. *I had rather have had it with all its Errours, that we might have truly known how much is genuine. But it being one of the most Scriptural, rational, and well composed Liturgies of all there published: It would make one think, 1. That these Nestorians were not so bad a people as their Anathematizers would have made the world believe them. 2. That the Banishment of the Nestorians and Eutychians accidentally proved a great means of the Churches enlargement beyond the bounds of the Romane Empire, whither they were banished: And this is plain in current History.*

I have given you this account of my Design in both the Books, (The History of Councils, with its Vindication, and the following Treatise.) I add an Answer to a Lord Bishop of Corke and Rosse, who hath written many Historical Untruths by his credulity, believing false Reporters. As to his and others Reprehension of my sharp unpeaceable words, my Case is hard; My own Conscience at once forbids me to justify my Stile or Passion; and also tells me that if making odious Gods servants, silencing and persecuting faithful Ministers, and Perjury, should prove as great a guilt and danger of Destruction to the Land, as is feared, I cannot justify my long Silence, nor that I use no more plainness and fervency in calling the guilty to Repent.

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Ch. 24. *Of his 7th Chapter. Of the old Heresies. Whether Projects for Moderation have been the chief distracters of the Church. He oft falsely saith, that I charge the Bishops with all the heresies in the world. What it is that I say of them. The true cause of Schism confessed. His misreports of the cause and Bishops. His false saying of me that I compared Oliver and his son to David and Solomon My profest Repentance which he feigneth me an Enemy to. What Nonconformity is, and what his misreports of it. An explicatory profession of the meaning of this Book against Misinterpreters.*

T H E

THE
 Ready Way
 OF
 Confuting Mr. Baxter,
 A
 SPECIMEN
 OF THE
 PRESENT MODE
 OF
 Controversie in England.

*Job. 8. 44. 1 King. 22. 22. Prov. 29. 12.
 & 19. 5, 9. Rev. 21. 8. & 22. 15.*

IN 1662. Dr. Boreman of Trinity-Colledge in Cambridge, Publish-
 ed a Book against me, as having written to Dr. Hill against
Physical-Predetermination to Sin; and in it saith, That it is re-
 ported, *That I kill'd a Man with my own Hand in cold Blood*; and
if it be not true, I am not the first that have been wronged. The Man,
 though promoted to the Charge of this Parish, *St. Giles in the Fields,*
 A was

was accounted so weak, (forbearing his Ministry, and saying he was suspended some Years before he died) that I thought it vain to take publick Notice of his Words; neither imagining whence he had them, nor ever hearing of them before.

But a few Weeks before the late *Plot* was reported, one Mr. P. came to me, and told me, That at the Coffee-House in *Fullers-Rents*, where *Papists* and *Protestants* used familiarly to meet; he provoking the *Papists* to Answer my Books, or to Dispute with me, was answered by a Gentleman of this Parish, said to be of the Church of *England*, That [*Mr. Baxter had kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own Hand.*] Mr. P. provoked him by a Wager to make it good. He refusing the Wager, was told, He should hear of it publickly, unless he would ask me Forgiveness. After some time, the Gentleman came to me with Mr. *Tasborough*, (since imprisoned, as is known) and with great Civility, ask't me Forgiveness. He was the Son of a Knight, and Judge, of my Acquaintance; and had an Aunt, that had been my very dear Friend. I told him, That Slandering is so common, and asking Forgiveness so rare, that I took it for a note of great Ingenuity in him; and, as I must forgive all Men as a Christian, so I could easily forgive any wrong to one related to such a Friend of mine. He told me, He was resolved openly to confess his Fault, and to vindicate me on all Occasions.

Accordingly, at the same Coffee-House, he openly declared his Repentance. Upon which, Mr. P. tells me, That Mr. G. an Aged Lawyer, Brother to the Lady *Ab.* was displeased, and said, He would prove the thing true by many Witnesses: (And, saith Mr. P. the Story among some of them was, That a Tinker did beat his Kettle at my Door, and being disturbed by him, I pistoll'd him, and was tryed for my Life at *Worcester*.) Mr. P. said, He provoked Mr. G. to lay a Wager on it: And he refusing, was told, [*Then he should hear of it in Westminster-Hall.*] Upon this, saith Mr. P. his Fellow-Catholicks ingenuously resolved to disown him, unless he would ask Forgiveness; which he being unwilling to come to me to do, Mr. P. saith, He at last performed before *Him*, and Capt. *Edmund Hampden*.

All this being done without my Knowledge (till after,) I was relating it to Mr. *John Humfrey*: Why (saith he) I did twelve Years ago hear Dr. *Allestry*, now *Regius-Professor* in *Oxford*, say the like, That he could not think well of that Man, that had kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own Hand.

I little

I little regarded all the rest: But Dr. *Allestry* had many Years been my old School-Fellow; many a time I had taught him; and he was the best at Learning, and of the honestest Disposition of any Boy that ever I knew; and I thought, if *Parties* could draw such as he into such Guilt, there was little Account to be made of the Reports or History of Men, if once they fell into different Factions. Wherefore I wrote to him what Mr. *Humfrey* told me, and received from him this honest ingenuous Letter, which I here annex.

And as to all this Story, I do here solemnly profess, That I never killed, wounded, or hurt any Man in my Life, (save one Man, whose Leg I hurt with playful Wrestling, when I was a Boy, and once or twice boxing with School-Boys, and correcting Lads when I was one Year a School-Master.) Nor in all the Wars, or in my Life, did I ever see any other kill any Man, save one; and that was at the same Bickering, (about Forty of a Side) when *Jennings* was wounded: While they were Fighting with him in one great Field, I being in another near the House, saw the Souldiers offering Quarter to a Foot-Souldier, and promising him Safety, if he would lay down his Musket; which he did not, but struck at them; and Captain *Holdich* shot him dead: And it proved after to be a *Welsh*-man, that understood not *English*; which grieved them when they knew it.

I have gone the next day where Fights have been, and seen many dead, when I had nothing to do with the Armies of either Part. But I never saw any, to my Knowledge, kill or hurt any Man, but this one.

Dr. *Allestry*'s Letter: (Which I should not Publish, but that even in *Oxford*, and elsewhere among the Clergy, the Report yet goeth on.)

SIR,

I Must profess sincerely, That I cannot recollect I ever said such Words of you to Mr. *Humfrey*, as it seems he does affirm I did: But yet I cannot but acknowledge, it is very possible, that I related, (and may be, to Him) That I had heard, you kill'd a Man in cold Blood: Since I very well remember, that above Thirty Years since, at the End of the War, I heard that publicly

lickly spoken before Company; and with this farther Circum-
 stance, that it was a Souldier, who had been a Prisoner some
 Hours. Now this Report relating to the Wars, in which (I fear)
 such Things were no great Rarities, and from my very tender
 Youth, I having not had the least Converse with you, nor likely-
 of any for the future, did not therefore apprehend, at present,
 any Concern or Occasion of inquiring, whether it were true; of
 which, upon that confident Asseveration, I did make no doubt.
 And I took so little thought of laying up the Relation, that I
 protest to you, as in the Presence of Almighty God, it is impossi-
 ble for me to recover, who made up that Company in which I
 heard it, or from whom I heard it: And I wonder, how it came
 into my Mind, to say that I had heard it, so long after. But
 however, though it be some Ease to me, to believe the late Dis-
 courses of it, do not come from my relating so long since that I
 heard it, neither are likely to receive any Confirmation from it,
 unless it be made more Publick than I have made it; yet I do
 profess, it is a great Affliction to me, to have spoken that, though
 but as a Report, which (it seems) was a Slander, (for so I be-
 lieve it, upon your Asseveration) and not having endeavoured
 to know whether it were true. And, as I have beg'd God's For-
 giveness of it; so I heartily desire, You will forgive me: And
 if I could direct my self to any other way of Satisfaction, I would
 give it. This is the whole Account I can give of this Matter;
 to which I shall only add, That I am,

Eaton-Coll. Dec.

13. 1679.

SIR,

Your very Affectionate Servant,

Richard Allestry.

II. In the Preface to the Life of Dr. Heylin are these Words.

Mr. Baxter may be pleased to call to mind, what was done to one Major
 Jennings, the last War, in that Fight that was between Lyndsel and Long-
 ford, in the County of Salop; where the Kings Party, having unfortu-
 nately the worst of the Day, the poor Man was stript almost naked, and left
 for

for dead in the Field: But Mr. Baxter, and one Lieutenant Hurdman, taking their Walk among the wounded and dead Bodies, perceived some Life left in the Major, and Hurdman run him through the Body in cold Blood; Mr. Baxter all the while looking on, and taking off with his own Hand, the Kings Picture from about his Neck; telling him, as he was swimming in his Goar, That he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix: Which Picture was kept by Mr. Baxter for many Years, till it was got from him (but not without much difficulty) by one Mr. Somerfield, who then lived with Sir Thomas Rous, and generously restored it to the poor man, now alive at Wick near Pershore in Worcestershire, although at the Fight supposed to be dead: being, after the Wounds given him, drag'd up and down the Field by the merciless Souldiers; Mr. Baxter approving of the inhumanity, by feeding his Eyes with so bloody, and so barbarous a Spectacle.

I Thomas Jennings, Subscribe to the truth of this Narrative abovementioned; and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal this second Day of March 1682. Thomas Jennings. Signed and Sealed, March 2. 1682. in the Presence of John Clark, Minister of Wick, Thomas Dacke. Published by George Vernon, Minister.

The like was before Published by Roger L'Strange.

Ans^w. I do not think Major Jennings knowingly made this Lye, but was directed by some bodies Report, and my sending him the Medal. I do solemnly protest, 1. That, to my Knowledge, I never saw Major Jennings: 2. That I never saw Man wound, hurt, strip, or touch him: 3. That I never spake a word to him, much less any word here affirmed: 4. That I neither took the Picture from about his Neck, nor saw who did it: 5. That I was not in the Field, when it was done: 6. That I walked not among any wounded or dead; nor heard of any kild, but the one Man before-mentioned. 7. That the Picture was never got from me with difficulty. But that this is the Truth: The Parliament had a few Men in Longford House, and the King at Lyndsel, about a Mile and a half a-sunder; who used oft to skirmish, and dare each other in the Fields between: My Innocent Father being Prisoner at Lyndsel, and I being at Longford, resolved not to go thence till he was delivered. I saw the Souldiers go out, as they oft did, and in another Field discerned them to meet and Fight: I knew not, that they had seen Jennings; but, being in the House, a Souldier shewed a small Medal of Gilt Silver, bigger than a Shilling; and told us, That he wounded Jennings, and took his Coat, and took that Medal from about his Neck: I bought it of him for 18 d. no one offering him more. And some Years after (the first time that I heard

I heard where he was, freely desired Mr. Somerfield to give it him from me, that had never seen him; supposing it was a mark of Honour, which might be useful to him. And now all these Lies, are all the Thanks that ever I had.

III. The *Observer*, N. 96. saith, [Tor. Who saith, they (the Presbyterians) brought in the King, besides your self? Wh. Mr. Hunt, the Author of the *Conformists Plea*, Mr. Baxter and who not?

Tor. Prethee ask Mr. Baxter, If he knows who it was, that went with five or six more of his own Cloth and Character, to General Monk, upon his coming up to London, in 1659; and finding a great deal of Company with him, told his Excellency, That he found his time was precious, and so would not trouble him with many Words: But as they were of great weight, so he hoped, they would make an answerable Impression on him: I hear a Report, Sir, (saith he) that you have some thoughts of calling back the King; but it is my Sense, and the Sense of these Gentlemen here with me, that it is a thing you ought not to do on any termes: For Prophaneess is so inseparable from the Royal Party, that if ever you bring the King back, the Power of Godliness will most certainly depart from this Land.

Ans. Dr. Manton (and whether any other, I remember not) went once with me to General Monk, and it was to congratulate him; but with this request, That he would take care, that Debauchery and Contempt of Religion might not be let loose, upon any mens pretence of being for the King, as it already began with some to be. But there was not one word by me spoken, (or by any one, to my remembrance) against his calling back the King, nor any of the rest here adjoynd; but as to me, it is a meer Fiction.

And the King was so sensible of the same that I said, that he sent over a Proclamation against such Men, as while they called themselves the Kings Party, did live in Debauchery and Prophaneess; which Proclamation so rejoyced them that were after Nonconformists, that they read it publickly in the Churches. Such gross Falshoods as these, are part of the Evil deprecated.

As to his Question, Whether the Presbyterians brought in the King? Who can affirm or deny any thing of equivocal Words? A Presbyterian is, who these Men will call such. They that in the Face of the World deny the Publick Acts of Three Kingdoms, in the Age they were done in, no wonder if they multiply the grossest Lies of such as I. The Parties that restored the King, were these; 1. The Excluded Members of the Long Parliament, the Ministers that were
since

since silenced ; and the frustrated endeavours of the *Scotch Armies*, and Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, joyning with some of the *Kings* Souldiers, prepared Mens minds to it. 2. General *Monke*, and his Army, who were Fighting against the King a little before, repress *Cromwells* Army. 3. The *Long-Parliament* Members restored, agreed to dissolve themselves, and set up a Council to call home the *King*. 4. Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen, invited General *Monk* into the City, who joyning with him, turned the Scales. 5. The City Ministers (called *Presbyterians*) perswaded the Lord Mayor to this, and wrote to *Monks* Colonels (called *Presbyterians*) to be for the King : (specially Mr. *Ash*, by Mr. *Calamy's* Counsel.) 6. The Lord *Mazarine*, Lord *Broghil*, and others of the same Party in *Ireland*, contributed their help ; and Colonel *Bridges*, with others, surprized *Dublin* Castle. 7. Many of the Old *Parliament* Men openly provoked Gen' *Monk*, and secretly perswaded and treated with him, to bring in the *King* (whom the Earl of *Anglesey*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others yet living, can Name to you.) 8. The *Parliament* called by General *Monk*, (by agreement with the *Long-Parliament*,) accounted mostly of the same Party, Voted the *Kings* Return: Which no doubt also, the Old Royalists most earnestly desired, and endeavoured.

This is the Historical Truth ; which if in this Age, Men will deny, I will bear any lies that they shall say or swear of me.

Now, either the *foresaid Armies, Parliament men, Ministers, &c.* were *Presbyterians*, or not. If they were not ; then, 1. Say no more, that it was *Presbyterians* that raised War against the King ; but that it was the *Episcopal* Men, if these were such. 2. Why then have you called them *Presbyterians* so long, and do so still ? But if they were *Presbyterians*, then it was such that Restored the King. But alas, how contemptible, yea, how odious is Truth grown to this Generation !

IV. There is yet a more Famous Historian, than any of these, though unnamed ; who pretending to militate after Dr. *Stillingfleet*, as in a 2d. *Part against Separation*, takes on him to give you the History of my Life. Partly making it my Reproach, that when I grew to Understanding, I remembered how many Drunken or Ignorant Readers had been my Teachers : Partly raking up retracted and obliterated Passages of Old Writings ; while at once they perswade me to Reviews and Retractions : Partly heaping up abundance of down right Falshoods : Partly clipping Sentences, and leaving out the

the part that should make them understood, and turning true Words, by perversion, into Falshoods: And partly by mixing this known Truth, [*That I was on the Parliaments side, and openly declared it.*]

But when at the new Model, I saw that they changed their Cause, I changed my Practice, & was from the Day that I went into the Army, a resolved Opposer of all that they did, to the Changing of the *Government*, & their *Usurpation*; & was sent among them to that end; which was immediately after *Naseby* Fight: And continued openly disowning the *Usurpation*, and the Means that set it up. And though I was Preaching and Writing against the said Usurpers, when an Army was Fighting for them, against the *King*, and the *King* knew how to forgive and Honour them, that did so much to his Restoration; yet are the Accusers so far from forgiving those that never personally hurt a Man, that they forbear not multiplying false Accusations; yea, and accusing those Ministers, and private Men that never had to do with Wars: Yea, the same Men that then wrote against me for the Changers and Usurpers, have since been the fierce Accusers of us, that opposed them.

And if these Men be unsatisfyed of my present Judgment, I have no hope of giving them Satisfaction, if all will not do it, which I have largely written in my *Second Plea for Peace, for Loyalty, and against Rebellion*; and all my Confutation of *Hooker's Politicks*, in the Last Part of my *Christian Directory*; with much more.

But this Book must have (if any) a Peculiar Answer.

V. Lately, when I taught my Hearers, *That we must not make the World believe, that we are under greater Sufferings, than we are, nor be unthankful for our Peace, and that we must when any hurt us, love and forgive them, and see that we fail not of our Duty to them; but not forsake the owning, and just defending by Scripture-Evidence the Truth opposed.* They Printed, that I *Bid the People Resist, and not stand still, and dye like Dogs.* And I was put the next Day to appeal to many Hundred Hearers, who all knew, that the Accusation was most impudent Lies. This is our present Case.

VI. The Players, I hope, expect no Answer to their Part.

London, Printed for R. Janeway, in *Queens-Head Alley*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1682.



The General Part containing the Design and Sum of this and the former Book, that it may be understood what it is that Mr. Morrice defendeth, and opposeth; and what it is that I maintain or blame, and by what Evidence.

§ 1. **I** Have been these forty years much troubled with the temptation to wonder, why God suffers most of the World to lie drown'd in Ignorance, Infidelity and Sensuality, and the Church of Professed Christians to live in so great Scandal, Contention, Division, and for the greater number, in a Militant Enmity against the Word, Will, Way, and Servants of Christ, while in Baptism they are Listed under him. But of late since Experience tells me of the marvelous Diversity of Humane Interests and Apprehensions, and the deep Enmity of the Fleshly Mind to Spiritual things, I admire the Wisdom and Providence of God, that there is so much Order, and Peace, and Love in the World of Mankind as there is: And that all men live not as in a continual War. And I perceive that if God had not preserved by Common Grace some remnants of Moral Honesty in the World, and had not also sanctified a peculiar People, whose New Nature is LOVE, the Sons of Men would have been far worse than Bears and Wolves to one another; and a man would have fled with greater fear from the sight of another man, than from a Snake or Tyger. But God hath not left himself without witness, in his Works, and daily Providences, and in the Consciences of those who have not sinned themselves into *Brutes* or *Devils*. And hence it is that there is some

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Government and Order in the World, and that sin is ashamed of its proper name, and even they that live in Pride, Covetousness, Ambition, Lying, Persecution, &c. cannot endure to hear the name of that which they can endure to keep and practise; and cannot endure to forsake.

§ 2. And indeed it is a great Credit to *Honesty* and *Piety*, to *Truth*, and *Love*, and *Peace*, and *Justice*, that the deadliest Enemies of them are ambitious of their *Names*; and though they will damn their Souls rather than be such, they will challenge and draw upon any man that denieth them to be such.

And I must profess, that I fetch hence a great confirmation of the Immortality of Souls, and a Future Life of Retribution. For if there were not a very great difference between Moral Good and Evil, what should make all the world, even the worst of men, be so desirous to be accounted Good, and so impatient of being thought and called *naught*, and as they deserve. And if the difference be so vast here, must there not needs be a Governour of the World that hath made such a difference by his Laws and Providence, and who will make a greater difference hereafter, when the End and Judgment cometh.

§ 3. Among other Causes of Humane Pravity and Confusion, one is the exceeding difficulty that young men meet with, in the communication of so much Knowledge as they must necessarily receive from others. Knowledge is not born with them: It is but the *power* and *capacity* of it, and not the *act* in which an Infant excels a Dog. And how shall they have it but by *Objects* and *Communication*? And *Objects* tell them not things past, the Knowledge of which is necessary to make them understand things present, and to come; and without which it is not possible to be wise. And God teacheth not Men now by Angels sent from Heaven, but by Men that were taught themselves before; and by his Spirit blessing mens endeavours. And when I have said [*by Man*] how bad, how sad a creature have I named? Alas! *David's* haste *Psal.* 116. was not erroneous passion; nor *Paul's* words, *Rom.* 3. a slander, when they called all men *Lyers*, that is untrusty; and so little do men know that must teach others, and so much doth all corruption incline them to love flattering Lies, and to take fleshly Interest, the World, and the Devil for their Teachers, and to hate the Light, because it disgraceth their hearts and deeds, and so much goeth to make a man wise,

wise, that it must be a wonder of merciful Providence that shall help young men to Teachers that shall not be their Deceivers. There were ever comparatively few that were truly wise and trusty, and these usually despised in the World.

§ 4. And how should young men know who these are? This is the grand difficulty that maketh the Errour of the World so uncurable. It requireth much wisdom to know who is wise, and to be trusted; who can well discern and value that Knowledge in another, which he is a stranger to himself? Experience tells us, that young unexperienced men do commonly receive that man's Opinions, 1. Who hath by nearness, or some accident the greatest advantage in their esteem and love: 2. Or his that speaks most for their fleshly Interest, and for that which they would have to be true: 3. Or his that hath the last word. It cannot be expected that they judge of any thing, beyond the advantage of their senses, and the *Notitia communes*, according to Evidence of Truth, which must be received by long and serious study, and by willing honest minds, and by the help of antecedent Verities.

§ 5. In this therefore *Divine free Election* is very manifest; As in giving the Gospel to some Nations in the World, when most others never have it, so in giving some young persons the blessing of good Education, and Teachers, and chusing for them that were unable to chuse well for themselves; as also in blessing the same helps to one, which are despised by another. And verily when I have been long stalled with the difficulties about *Election* and *Differencing Grace*, undeniable Experience hath been my chief Conviction. If the Gospel be true, the common worldly fleshly sort, that are for Christ but by Tradition, Law and Custom, and are religious for worldly ends, and no farther than the Interest of the Flesh and World will give them leave, have no true Saving Grace at all. And the rest that seriously believe and seek a better Life, and live above fleshly worldly Interests, are in most places few, and made the scorn and hatred of the rest. And if *de facto*, God do sanctifie only a peculiar People, who can deny his differencing Will and Grace?

§ 6. I was my self in my Childhood ignorant what Teachers among such diversity I should prefer. And first God had such a witness in my Conscience, that Virtue and Holiness were better than *Vice* and *Sin*, that it made me think that the sort of

Teachers who Traded meerly for the World, and never spake a serious word of Heaven, nor differed from sober Heathens, but in Opinion; yea, that endeavoured to make serious Godliness to seem but Hypocrisie, were not like to be the wisest and most trusty men. And yet how to judge among the serious, which were right, was long too hard for me.

§ 7. When I came to consider of the Divisions of the Christian World, and heard the Papists pretend to Catholicism, and call all others Schismatics or Hereticks, it sometime seemed a plausible Opinion, that the greatest Power and Dignity of the Clergy, was the Interest of Christianity: By Riches, Honour and Power, they may protect the Godly, and keep Religion from Contempt among the worldly sort of men, or from oppression at the least.

2. And I saw that in all Ages and Countries of the World, Historians tell us how rare a thing, a wise and holy Prince hath been, and how commonly by Wealth and Greatness they have been bred up in that Sensuality and Pride, which hath made them the Capital Enemies to serious Piety; if not the Persecutors of it.

3. I thought with my self if such godly Christians, as much value the Interest of Religion had lived in such times and places, where Rulers were Persecutors of the Truth, how glad would they have been to have had the Power of Church-matters put into the hands of their Chosen Pastors, what would they have desired more?

4. And I read that till Riches and honours were annexed to the Office, the People had still the Choice of their own Pastors, and therefore could not chuse but wish their Estates and Lives, and all, as well as their Religion, to be as much as might be in their hands. And so no doubt when the Bishops were advanced to great Diocesses, and Power, it was by the desire of the most Religious Christians, who valued most the Interest of the Church.

5. And I could not but observe, that though Christ gave his Apostles no Power of the Sword, he set them above other Ministers, not only in Miraculous Gifts, and Infallible testifying and recording his Commands and works, but in some sort of oversight, which seemeth a thing appointed for Continuance as well as preaching.

6. And I thought that if Church-Grandure were the Interest of Religion and Unity the strength of the Church, it lookt very
plausibly

plausibly to reason, that as Bishops were over Presbyters, so there should be some over Bishops; and that National Churches should by such Government be hindered from Schism and Heresie as well as Parochial. And that Diocesans and Metropolitans Power should be derived from a Superiour as well as Presbyters. And that when poor Subjects dare not reprove a Prince, some that are above fearing his Power may.

7. And when I read the Popes Claim, I thought it seemed not improbable, that *Petrus primus*, and *pasce oves meas*, and *super hanc Petram* were not spoken in vain. And these thoughts pleaded thus for Church-Grandeur in Prelates and Popes.

§. 8. On the other side, I saw 1. That Christ said, His Kingdom *was not of this world*, and comes not *utrumque* *in gloria*, with observable Pomp. And that when they strove who should be greatest, he reprov'd them, and Concluded [*with you it shall not be so*] and that the most serviceable is to be accounted the greatest; that Peter himself accordingly describeth their office, 1 Pet. 5.

2. I find that Christ appointed them another sort of work to do, even to Preach the Gospel to all Nations through all streights, difficulties and sufferings, and to baptize, and teach Christians to observe the Laws of Christ. And that as he never put the Sword into their hand, so an official declaring and applying his Word to voluntary Disciples was all their Office, as ordinary Pastors to be continued.

3. I find that Christ sent them out by two and two, as if it had been done on foresight, that men would erect a Church-Monarchy: And that no Scripture tells us of any division of the Church into Diocesses, where one Apostle was a Monarch, or had Power above the rest, or was his Peculiar Province: Nor that the twelve settled twelve such, or any as the seats of their Successors.

4. I find not that ever any one Apostle exercised Government over the rest: Nor that ever Christ gave the rest any Command or Direction to obey any one; Nor that ever the Contending or Schismatical sort of Christians were directed to end their strife, by taking any one for the Head who must determine all their Controversies: And that they that said [*I am of Cephas*] are reprov'd with the rest. And that all are called Members of the Body, and only Christ the Head. And if it had been his will that *One Universal Head or Power* should have been set up as the *Principium*, or Center of Unity, it is a matter of so great

great consequence, that it is not to be believed that Christ would not have plainly commanded it.

5. I find that Christ hath himself done the work, for which the necessity of *Universal Humane Government* (by Pope or Councils) is pretended; *viz.* He hath made and caused his Apostles (peculiarly qualified for it) to record Universal Church-Laws, even as many as are Universally necessary: And if so, I cannot but think, 1. That he hath done it better than Man can do; 2. And that to add more unnecessarily must needs be a snare and burden to the Church; 3. And that it must be an usurping the Power of Christ: For if there be no other Universal Governour, there is no other that hath Authority to make Universal Laws. Therefore this is Treason against Christ, and a making Man a Vice-Christ.

6. I found that there is not so much as a *Natural Capacity* in any one, or many, for an Universal Government: Church-Government being of such a nature as maketh it far more impossible, than for one Monarch or Aristocracy to Govern all the Earth: And to do it by a truly General Council, or by the Diffused Bishops of all the World is further from possibility than to do it by a Pope.

7. I searcht the Councils pretended to be General, to see whether they had made any better Laws than Christ's, or made any desirable addition. And I found 1. That while they were not wholly Papists, they never pretended to make Canons for any Christians, but only those in the *Roman Empire*. 2. And that it had been much happier for the Churches if they had made no more Laws than Christ had made them, for holy Doctrine, Worship, and Church-Discipline, and had only as Teachers expounded and applied the Laws of Christ.

8. I considered the Present State of the Church Universal, and I find it such as no Party of Christians in the World doth own. The Pope pleadeth for an Universal Sovereignty, and all his Clergy do the same; some saying it is in Councils, some in the Pope, and most in both together, or Councils approved by the Pope: And Protestants, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, and almost all other Christians in the World, accuse this *Roman Church* and Claim.

The Papists condemn the rest: The *Greeks, Arminians*, and almost all the rest accuse each other.

9. I considered what Popery is, that is, *Clergy-Power* in its height, and what it hath done in the World. And I found 1. A woful description of the lives of multitudes of Popes, recorded by their own most credited Historians. And 2. I found multitudes of vicious Canons obtruded by them as Laws on the Universal Church. 3. I found most doleful Histories of the Wars and Rebellions that they have caused from Age to Age. 4. I found that they have corrupted the Doctrine of Christ in abundance of particulars. 5. And that they have lockt up the Sacred Scriptures from the Vulgar, as they have not done their Canons. 6. And that they have turned God's Spiritual Worship into a multitude of Superstitious Rites, and scenical Ceremonies and Shews. 7. And that they have turned Spiritual Church-Discipline into a secular sort of Tyranny. 8. And that they have most schismatically unchurched the rest of the Churches, because they are not Subjects of the Pope. 9. And that they have branded the soundest Churches with the name of Hereticks, while they are the grand Heresie of the World. 10. And that they have been and are the greatest Silencers of sound Preachers, and hinderers of true Piety and Reformation in the Church. 11. And that they have wofully vitiated the People that are their Subjects, so that odious wickedness fed by Ignorance, abounds among them; and it is their Votaries that are called *Religious*, and a few Canonized persons Saints; as if Religion and Sanctity were rarities, or any could be saved without them. 12. Lastly, I find that they have lived upon Blood, like Leeches, and have been the cruellest Persecutors of holy men, on pretence of killing Hereticks: And that it is this to which they trust.

10. I took not this notice of them upon meer prejudice, but have read, I think, as many Papists Books, as Protestants, or any other against them. Nor have I taken it upon dark Scripture Prophecies, suspecting my understanding of them: But 1. The matter of fact from themselves: 2. Against their Papal Supremacy from such Arguments as are fully collected by Dr. Barrow. 3. Against their heinous Church-corruptions, from such Moral Evidence as Dr. H. Moore hath fully gathered in his *Mystery of Iniquity*. 4. Against their pretences of Tradition and Antiquity, I fetcht my Arguments from the Histories and Authors which they themselves alledge, and especially their Councils, with the Fathers Writings.

§ 9. Seeing

§ 9. Seeing the Church in this sad Condition, and the Papal part so greatly vitiated, I considered how long it had so been. And I found that the Pope and his Bishops grew not up like a Mushroom in a day; but had been long in thriving to maturity: And I met with no man that could just tell what Year or what Age the disease or tumor did begin. Bishop *Bromhall* thinks if they will abate their last 400 years Innovations, we may have hope of agreeing with them. Bishop *Gunning* will own no General Councils, but the first six; some will receive eight; some but four. Mr. *Morrice* here goeth no further in his defence of them, whatever he think. Some begin Popery with *Leo* the great, some with *Gregory's* Successour. But it is most certain, that it was first an Embrio, and next an Infant and so grew up from Childhood to maturity by degrees. And the first Church-corruption was not that which we now call Popery. And it is as certain that the tumor did neither begin nor grow up in the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but in other Bishops, who grew up with him, & were his strength and Councils, and he their Head.

§ 10. It is known when the *Greeks* and *Romans* began most notably to strive which should be greatest, and how the division increased, and when and how it came to an anathematizing or excommunicating each other.

§ 11. It's notorious that it was from the Councils of *Calcedon*, and *Ephesus*, that the great separated bodies of *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* (now called *Jacobites*) that possess the *East* and *South*, were broken off with *Nestorius* and *Dioscorus*, and so continue to this day.

§ 12. I considered who were the Chief Authors of all these lamentable Schisms, and Church-corruptions in the several Ages when they rose, and who continue them to this day: And I found that many Princes were much to be blamed, and the People not Innocent, no not the Religious Monks. But the Bishops that had the main Church-power, by abusing it, were with their Clergy the principal Causes, and so are to this day: The breaches might yet be healed in East, West, and South, were it not for them.

§ 13. Finding this in History of undoubted Truth, I next considered what was the Cause that the Bishops and their Clergy should become such Church-corrupters and Dividers, and still continue the Churches miseries.

And

And I found as followeth, 1. That none are able to do so much hurt as those that have the greatest *Parts, Power, Interest* and *Trust*. None kill so many (except Souldiers) as those Physicians who are entrusted to heal and save them. If five hundred neighbours mistake a man's Disease, whom he never trusted, it hurts him not: But an unskilful Nurse or Parent may kill a sick Child; and an unskilful or unfaithful Physician may kill multitudes.

2. And there goeth so much to make a man a skilful, faithful Pastor, as that such are rare. As a Physician is like to kill his Patient, if he mistake but some one thing in his Disease, or some Ingredient in his Medicine, though he were right in all the rest: So if a Guide of Souls were excellent in all other things, what work one Opinion, yea or unskilful word may make, not only the case of the *Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites*, &c. tell us, but even the strife that arose in the Church about *Hypostasis* and *Persona*, which had almost hereticated *Jerom* himself, for all his skill in the Languages: And the case of the Greeks and Latines about [*Filioq;*] and abundance such.

3. And *Pride* is the *Heart* of the Old Man; first living, and last dying. And *great Power, great Parts, and great Esteem* do feed it, if true Grace do not mortifie it. Knowledge puffeth up; and especially when men live among the ignorant and unlearned, and are but half Learned themselves, and are thought by the people and themselves, to be much wiser than they are: *Inter cæcos luscus Rex.*

4. And *Selfishness* is the very sum of all positive iniquity: And *Pride* and *Selfishness* make men desirous to be the Idols of the World, and to seem as Gods knowing good and evil, and to have their *will* of all that they have to do with.

5. And the strongest temptations use to cause the greatest sins.

§ 14. These Generals presupposed, it is most clear, 1. That the remnant of these sins, even in Christ's Apostles, set them on striving who should be greatest, and made *James* and *John* desire preheminance, and also to have called for *Fire* from Heaven; and made them after Christ's Resurrection, hope that he would have restored the Earthly Kingdom unto *Israel*. And it put *Paul* to vindicate his Apostleship against many that disparaged him; As it made *Diotrephes*, who loved to have the preheminance, to cast out the Brethren, and speak evil of *John*: It gave *Peter* occasion to warn the Bishops not to *Lord it over God's Heritage*,
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but to be *Examples to the Flock*, overseeing them not by constraint, but willingly.

2. Even in good men this fault, though not in a reigning degree, did live more in others afterwards, that had not that measure of the Spirit as the Apostles had to overcome it. And if even in *Paul's* daies he had none like-minded to *Timothy*, who naturally cared for the good of all; for all (too much) sought their own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's, as *Demas* forsook him for some worldly Interest; what wonder is it if afterward Pride and Worldliness grew greater, and Heresies and Strifes increased.

3. Yet while Christianity was a suffering and laborious State, the Pastors of the Churches were commonly the best men, that had more Knowledge, Holiness and Love than others, and the Churches prospered under the Cross: They that spared not their labours, but imitated the pattern set by *Paul*, *Acts* 20. did not strive who should have the largest Diocess, and undertake that which they could not do, but they strove to do as much as they were able, and to increase and edifie the Flock.

4. But when extraordinary Gifts abated, and acquired Ones became more necessary, and few Philosophers turned Christians, able Taking Preachers or Orators grew fewer, and those few that were eminent in Knowledge and Speech were justly preferred before the rest. And usually some one man had the chief hand in converting men, and gathering a Church in each particular Town, and then he rightfully was taken for their Pastor: And it being found that the publick and private care of Souls required in each Church, where were fit men, more than one Pastor; 'It was not meet that more should be brought to him that was there before, without his approbation and consent; but that he were to the *juniors* as a Father; And because the rest were usually below him in Gifts and Worth, it was thought but meet that they should do what they did by his consent: And also to avoid Divisions, to which they were over-prone, it was judged fit that one should have the preheminance, and a negative, and partly ruling Vote.

5. The Churches, which in the beginning had these Bishops and Fellow-Presbyters, were single Congregations: And shortly they grew to be more than could meet together in some few great Cities; Persecution hindering them from very large Assemblies,

semblies, besides their want of large capacious Temples. Dr. *Hammond* thinks that there is no evidence, that in Scripture-time there were any other Presbyters than Bishops, and consequently a Bishop had but one Congregation, unless he went one hour to one, and another to another, which was not their use. But doubtless in this he is mistaken, as the many Speakers as *Corinth* shew.

6. The Greatness of the *Roman* Empire was prepared by God to be then an exceeding great furtherance of the Gospel: For under the same Civil Laws and Powers, where one or two Languages were understood by most, Christians had the far greater advantage for Communication. Want of forreign Languages is now our great hinderance from Preaching the Gospel to other Nations of the World: And the Confusion at *Babel* was an unspeakable Judgment. But as Ships, yea Navies, can sail on the Ocean, when small Barks or Boats only can pass on Rivers; so the vastness of the *Roman* Empire was a great help to the Church, by Communication, Language and Accesses: But especially when the Emperour became Christian, the advantage was exceeding great: Whereas now the Greatness of the *Turkish, Tartarian & Indostan* Empire, are great Impediments to the Gospel; because the *Barbarians* are more cruel Enemies than the Civil *Romans* (notwithstanding the ten Persecutions) were; and their opposition is the more extensive by the extent of their Dominions; and the Christian Churches having now more scandalized the Infidels by their corruptions. While they were not corrupted by worldly power and wealth, the great holiness of the Churches convinced the sober part of the Empire. *Albaspineus* shews us clearly that their strictness was so great, that they endured no notable scandalous sin among them; yea and came very near to the *Novatians* in their Discipline: And that it was not for greater strictness that the *Novatians* were condemned, but for denying the Power of the Church to absolve men penitent that sinned after Baptism. And their Canons shew it. And it is certain, that Christians obeying *Paul*, avoided the Heathen Judicatures as much as might be, and censured those that did not, and ended their Differences by the way of Arbitration, and took the Bishop with the Consent of his Clergy to be an Authorized Arbitrator; and thus the affairs of all the Christians Being cast upon him, and he having no power to force any

man, but only to govern Volunteers, the Bishops were constrained to make their Rules of Discipline so much the stricter, that all that would not renounce Christianity, and Church-Communion, might be brought to Obedience to escape Excommunication.

7. God having made the *Great Power and Extent* of the *Roman* Empire, so great a means for the propagation of Christianity, the Christians thought that the *Greater* they grew themselves, the more it would tend to the Churches deliverance, from contempt and persecution: And their advancement lay in that advancement of the Bishops, which private men could not expect, save only by subsequent participation. Hereupon the Bishops, by the Peoples consent, endeavoured to form the Government of the Church within the Empire, into a conformity to the Government of the Empire: And they contrived that those Cities whose Governours had the chief Civil Power, their Bishops should have answerable Church-Power; the Glory of the Empire drawing them for seeming Interest, into imitation.

8. From the like Principles they desired greatly the enlargement of the Churches of which they were Overseers: And whereas Christ had made single Churches like Schools, and every stated Worshipping Church, was also a Governed Church, as every School hath its School-Masters, one, or more, by degrees these Churches were by degeneration quite altered into other things: First, They were like a Parochial Church, which addeth Chappels: They thought not so contemptibly of the Pastoral work as we do, but found enough, as is said, for many men in a Church of a few hundred or thousand souls: And when by Persecution, or Numbers, or Distance, they could not all meet ordinarily in one place, they appointed them to meet under several Presbyters, in several places, but without appropriating a particular Presbyter to each Assembly.

2. After they appropriated them to their distinct charges, and distinguished a stated Worshipping company from a Governed Church, the Bishop and his Consistory ruling all in common; and the People tyed to communicate only at the Bishops Altar, and elsewhere to be but Hearers and Worshippers.

3. After that they set up Altars up and down for Monuments and Memorials of Martyrs, and then in the Presbyters Chappels; yet so that the People were at *Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Nativity,*

tivity, to communicate with the Bishop in the Mother Church or Cathedral.

4. Then when Country-Villages distant had a great increase of Christians, they allowed Country-Bishops, *Chorepiscopos*, (proved by *Petavius* to be true Bishops; if they were not, Presbyters ordained.) But they must be subject to the City Bishop. 5. After this they decreed that very little Cities should have no Bishops, *ne vilescat nomen Episcopi*; whenas before that every City had a Bishop and Elders, that had Christians enow: And every Town, like our Corporations, or Market-Towns, were called Cities: *πόλεις* did not signifie only such as we now call Cities distinct from such Towns; were they no bigger than *Cenchrea*, *Majuma*, and such others close to greater Cities, they had Bishops. Yea every Church was to have their Elders, (and consequently Bishops, saith Dr. *Hammond*) where ever it was, by the Rule of the Holy Ghost, *Acts* 14. 23. And God never said, Let there be no Churches but in Cities: Else when an Emperour would put down all the Cities, or many, he should put down as many Churches.

6. After this they set up Patriarks as before they had done Metropolitans: And it was three that they first set up (but no where out of the Empire:) And the Papists find in the Institution the mystery of Trinity in Unity: For they could not find any where Twelve Seats Successors to the Twelve Apostles; and so they feigned, that Peter being the Center of Unity, The Trinity flowed from him. 1. He as Bishop erected the *Antiochian* Patriarchate. 2. By St. *Mark* his Disciple, the *Alexandrian*. And 3. By his final Episcopacy the *Roman*, saith *Joh. Dartin*, *de statu Eccles. tempore Apostoli*, pag. 23, 24. [*Imitatur Ecclesia Dⁿⁱ ut trinum in Personis & unum in essentia, quatenus scilicet una & eadem Ecclesia est multiplex ratione locorum; nam distributio prima & generalis omnium Ecclesiarum fuit in tres Patriarchatus, Romanum, Alexandrinum, & Antiochenum, ut unum esset per tres Antistites Sacerdotium ad Trinitatis instar cui una est atque individua potestas ut recte interpretatur Symmachus Pap. ad Eonium-- Dicendum est quod sicut in Trinitate una existente essentia, tamen persone differentes existunt, ita Ecclesia una est essentia, licet plures particulares existant: Et sicut omnes Trinitatis persone originem sumunt à Patre, qui est origo Filii, & uterque Sp. Sancti, ita Ecclesia origo est Romana aliarum.*]

7. After

7. At the same time they began to describe Churches or Bishops Provinces by the Measures of Land, which before were described by the Persons of Volunteers, inhabiting near each other, saith the aforesaid *Dartis* p. 128. *Et sane diu duravit ille mos tanquam Apostolicus in Ecclesiis, ut non essent alii termini Episcopatus quam multitudo eorum quos ad fidem convertissent & baptizassent*, which he proveth out of the Canons.

8. *Rome* being the imperial Seat, the Bishop of *Rome* was nearest the Emperour and subordinate Rulers, and so most capable to make Friends for Christians under any Accusations and Persecutions; by which advantage all Christians through the Empire needing and being glad of such help, did willingly give the Primacy to the *Romane* Patriark.

9. The Emperor *Constantine* turning Christian, and taking them for his surest Souldiers, resolved to raise them as high as he well could, for the interest of Christianity and his own, and thereby to work down the Heathens by degrees, and accordingly gave them chief Countenance, and chief Power; and their Bishops being their chief men, it must be done by exalting them. He made them the authorized Judges of all Christians that desired it, even in criminal cases. He yet gave not the Bishops the power of the Sword; but if any Christians had committed Fornication, Adultery, Perjury, yea Murder, the Bishop was to punish them by Pennance and Suspension from the Sacrament: Besides which, Christians had the chief Preferments as they were capable of in the Armies and Civil Government: So that they triumphed over their late Persecutors, And now Honour, Power and Wealth, were most on the Christians side, but especially the Bishops.

10. Worldly Interest being now on the Churches side, much of the World by such Motives crowded into the Church, and no man can imagine that it could be otherwise, who considers which way the Vulgar go, and how apt to be of the Prince's mind, and how much nature inclineth to fleshly Interest: Who had not rather be kept from the Sacrament and Communion for a crime, till he profess Repentance, than to be hanged or banished, or ruined for it?

But especially the Temptation was strongest to the Bishops, whose baits were the most alluring: And ever since then they that most loved *Wealth, Power and Honour* (that is, the worst, most worldly

worldly men) have been the most eager desirers and seekers of Bishopricks: And while humble holy men must rather be sought to, such earnest seekers are like to be the ordinary finders and possessors.

11. But yet three things kept up for some time a considerable number of godly Bishops in the Churches, which with the humble Presbyters, kept up the Interest of sound and practical Religion.

1. Those that had been tryed worthy men before *Constantine's* conversion, and the Bishop's exaltation, kept their Integrity in the main; though in the *Nicene* Council their contentious Libels shewed that we are more beholden to *Constantine* than to them, that they fell not into such strife as their Successors did. Good men may be carryed too far in Pride and Strife, but they will not be mastered by them, and turn against the Power of Godliness.

2. The People and Inferiour Clergy had the choice of their Bishops: And so (though they oft had tumults, as in popular Elections it will be) yet the worst ambitious men were long kept out, and the best oft chosen, till the People and Presbyters themselves were corrupted.

3. And divers good Emperours arose that took some care to promote the best: But alas! this had sad and frequent interruptions.

12. For the *Arians* posselt *Constantine* himself with hard thoughts of *Athanasius* and his Adherents: And it could not be expected that *Julian* should countenance the best, when *Constantius* and *Valens* had done so much against them, and got most of all the Churches headed by *Arian* Bishops; to say nothing yet of after times.

13. But now two things became matter of Contention among the Bishops and their Clergy, and increased the strife from time to time. The first and chief was the Old Cause greatly strengthened, viz. *Who should be greatest? Who should have the largest, fattest, and most Ruling Diocess and Seat?* The other was, *Who should be taken for the most Orthodox, and whose Explications of the Faith should be taken for the soundest;* especially about the description of the Person and immanent acts of *Christ*? Or briefly, 1. Jurisdiction and Greatness: 2. Wisdom and hard words.

14. Now

14. Now also *Constantinople* contended with *Rome*, and being the Seat of the Empire which they judged to be the true Reason of Church-preheminence, they at first modestly took the second place: And now the Trinity of Patriarchs was turned to five, *Jerusalem* being made the fifth. At all this *Rome* grudged.

15. All this while the old Discipline of the Church was tolerably kept up; 1. Because though much of the world had got into the Church, yet a very great part were tenacious of their Heathenish Customs, and prejudiced against Christians by their Contentions, (odiously described by *Am. Marcellinus*, and many others, and prejudiced against *Constantine* for his Son *Crispus* and *Sopaters* death, &c. and against *Constantius* for the Murder of *Julian's* Relations; and being taken with the plausible parts of *Julian*, and with the great Learning and highly extolled Lives of *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Aedesius*, *Maximus*, *Proeresius*, *Libanius*, *Chrysanthius*, and such others, described by *Eunapius*, &c. so that except *Rome* and *Alexandria*, for 200 years, and some few of the very great Churches for 400, the Churches were no greater than one Bishop and his Confessors, might tolerably govern by the Keys. 2. And all this while all the Presbyters were Church-Governours as well as the Bishop, though he was their Chief, and all Excommunications were to be done by joint consent; And so many Church-Governours may do more than one.

16. Then Councils called General, having by the Emperours Grant, and the Clergies Desire and Consent, the Supreme Church-Power, it was in these Councils that the Pride, Ambition and Domination of all the worldly Prelates that were too soon got in, did exercise it self as the valour and wit of Souldiers in a field of War: And as 1. The good men yet among them; 2. And the Articles of Faith yet retained by them, did cause them to do much good against some Heresies and Disorders, so the Pride and Turbulency, yea ignorance of the rest, caused them to become the occasions of the doleful Schisms, and Heresies; and Enmity of Christians against each other, which continue to this day unhealed.

17. These hurtful Contentions in Councils at first prevailed but little, and that at *Nice* did much more good (I think) than harm: And after at *Constant*: a little more hurt was done, and much good: And those that followed did worse and worse, till the proud worldly Spirit contracted Malignity, and so much prevailed,

prevailed, that for a thousand years at least the Bishops with their Prelatical Clergy and their Councils have been the grand Corruption and Plague of the Church; which many of the most Learned Expositors of the *Revelation*, take to be the *Image of the Beast*; and Dr. H. Moore calls it a *Heathenish Christianity*, which they have made their Religion.

18. In their progress to all this, as the Diocesses first grew up from our Parochial Magnitude towards that of the present Diocesan, so the very Pastoral Power of all the rest of the Presbyters, was by degrees taken away, so far as that they had no consenting power in Ordinations or Excommunications, unless the Bishop would chuse a few for his Council: so that the proper power of the King's was confined to one Bishop over many hundred Parishes; and so Discipline became an impossible thing, save as it served the Bishops against some that they disliked: And so the Church which was as the Garden of Christ, became like the Commons, and good and bad were little differenced in Communion.

19. Yet because the Power must still be useful to the Bishops ends, as he sees cause, some shadow of the old exercise must be kept up: But the Bishop having not leisure for the tenth part of the labour which this very shadow required, Lay-men are made his Chancellours to decree Excommunications and Absolutions, and to Govern by the Church Keys; like a secular Court: And Commissaries, Officials, Surrogates, and other hard names and things, are set up instead of the Presbyters and their Antient Office.

20. By this time the Antient Species of the Churches was altered; and whereas it was long held, that a Church and Bishop were Correlates, and there were no more Churches than Bishops, now many hundred or a thousand Parishes are become no Churches, but parts of one Diocesan Church, which is the lowest, and many score or hundred of the old sort of Bishops, all cast out and swallowed up by one. Just as if a thousand, or some hundred Schools should have but one Governing Schoolmaster, and be but one School, but each part have an Usher to read to the Boyes, and tell the one Schoolmaster as a Monitor what they did amiss; but might correct none, nor put them out.

21. By this time they began to live on blood; and even as they swelled in the beginning, cruelty grew up equally with
D Pride:

Pride: For Reason and Scripture were not on their side, nor would justify their Cause and them, and therefore violence must do it: They desired not the bare title of *Power*, but the exercise of it, to promote the Issues of their *Wit* and *Will*. They began with rash silencing, ejecting and deposing Dissenters, and thence to anathematizing them, and thence to banishing, till at last it grew up to tormenting in the Inquisition, and burning them.

22. And whereas (notwithstanding the petty Heresies among Christians too early) the glory of the Ancient persecuted Christians was their entire Love and Concord, and the shame of the Philosophers was their discord; it came to that pass, that whereas a Heresie of old did start up among a few for a small time, like our Ranters and Quakers, who shame Religion no more than Bedlams shame Reason: Now the great Continents of the Earth have been the Seats of the millions of those called Hereticks and Schismatics by each other, about 1400 or 1300 years. *Eusebius in Prepar. & Demonstr.* copiously sheweth that the Philosophers were all confounded in dissention (and yet did not persecute each other) but that the Christians were all of one Religion, cleaving to one Sacred Word of God: Of which also see *Raym. Breganium in Theol. Gent. de Cogn. Dei, Enar. 5. cap. 8.* To be Lovers of good men, was the character of the old Bishops: To be dividers, and haters, and slanderers, and silencers, and persecutors, and murderers of them, grew up with corrupters Pride.

23. And with these did gradually grow up corruptions of Doctrine, even while they pretended a burning Zeal against Heresie; and corruption of God's publick Worship, till it grew up to all the Mass and *Roman* Impurities.

24. And to secure all this against Reformation, ridiculous Legends, and falsification of Church-History, made it hard for posterity what to believe, or whom.

§ 15. Being thus far sure of the matter of fact, by what degrees Prelacy grew up to the height, that it hath now attained in the World abroad, I considered what men thought of it now at home (I am speaking yet but of matter of fact;) and I found great diversity in mens thoughts of it.

1. As to the *Roman* height, I found that the Church of *England* since the Reformation till *A. B. Land's* time took the Pope to be the
Anti-

Antichrist; It was in their Church-books : Many other Bishops, as well as Bishop *Downam*, have written for it : What Bishop *Morton*, and *Hall*, and *Abbot*, and abundance such have written against Popery I need not name.

2. I found that then the stream began to turn, and the name of Antichrist was put out, and our Reconciliation with *Rome* was taken to be a hopeful work, and actually endeavoured (which by their conversion all good men desire.)

3. I found that many among us of greatest reverence and name had laid down such tearms as these, "[That the Catholic Church is one Visible Society under one humane Governing Sovereignty: That this Universal Sovereign hath power of Universal Legislation and Judgment: That the Colledge of Bishops through all the World, are this one Supreme Universal Sovereign: That they exercise it in General Councils when they sit: That every Bishop is by Office the Representative of his Diocesan Church; and these Bishops may, or must have Metropolitans and Patriarchs; and by these Patriarchs and Metropolitans *per literas formatas*, and their *Nuntii the Universal Supreme Colledge may exercise their Power over all the World*: And what they do thus, the Church or Colledge doth, in the intervals of General Councils: That the Pope of *Rome* is to be acknowledged the *Principium Unitatis* to this Universal Church and Colledge of Bishops, and the Ordinary President of General Councils *ex Officio*. That Councils called without the President who hath the sole power, are unlawful Assemblies, and punishable Routs. That the approbation of the President, (if not of the most of the Patriarchs) is the note by which an authoriz'd obliging Council is to be known from others. That the Pope is to be obeyed accordingly as Prime Patriarch, *Principium Unitatis*, President of General Councils, and Patriarch of the West. That all that will not unite with the Church of *Rome* on these tearms, are Schismatics, and so to be accounted and used. That those that thus unite with the Church of *Rome*, are no Papists: But a Papist is only one that holdeth all to be just and good that is done by Popes, or at least one that is for the Pope's Absolute Power of Governing above Canon-Laws and Church-Parliaments or Councils. And that if they will but abate their last 400 years Innovations, or at least not impose them on others,

“ we may unite with the Church of *Rome*, though they claim
 “ as *Peter's* Successors, the Universal Supremacy at least to be
 “ exercised according to the Canons of Councils. And that it
 “ is not the Church of *Rome*, but the Court of *Rome*, which at
 “ present we may not unite with. That the Church of *Rome* is
 “ a true Church, and hath had an uninterrupted Succession, and
 “ its Sacraments true Sacraments : But none of those Protestant
 “ Churches are true Churches, that have not Diocesan Bishops;
 “ nor any of their Pastors true Ministers of Christ, who have not
 “ Diocesan Episcopal Ordination ; nor any that have such, unless
 “ it hath as such been conveyed down from the Apostles by un-
 “ interrupted Succession by such Diocesans. That such men have
 “ no true Sacraments, God not owning what is done by any not
 “ so ordained : That therefore they have no Covenant-promise
 “ of, or right to Pardon and Salvation, because such right is
 “ given only by the Sacrament : That therefore all such Pro-
 “ testants Sacraments are but nullities, and a prophanation of
 “ holy things : And that the Holy Ghost being the Instituter of
 “ these sacred things, it is the sin against the Holy Ghost to under-
 “ take and exercise the Ministry, & celebrate Sacraments without
 “ such uninterrupted successive Ordination. That an Ordained
 “ Minister, hath no more power than was intended him by his
 “ Ordainers : That in such Presbyterians, or Episcopal Churches,
 “ which have their power from the Ordainers, and so far for want
 “ of Succession, are nullities ; it is safe for men (as *e. g.* in *France*)
 “ to be rather of the *Roman* Church than theirs.

§ 16. And as I found this Doctrine in the ascendent in *Eng-
 land*, so I met with such as were for using Protestants according-
 ly, even for the silencing of them by thousands, if they would
 not swear, profess, promise, and do all that — And for using the
 People accordingly. And abating neither big nor little, an
 Oath or a Ceremony to unite or save them. And I lived in an
 Age where these things were no idle speculations.

§ 17. Being thus far sure of the Matter of Fact, I studied as
 well as I was able to know which of these waies was right : And
 I saw that either Popery that is, the Popes universal Headship
 or Government is of Divine Institution, or else it is a heinous U-
 surpation, and formeth a sort of Church which is not on any pre-
 tence of Concord to be owned. And as to the first I have said
 before and in many Books what I have to say against it ; which
 is

is all summed up in Doctor *Iz. Barrow*, and Doctor *H. Moore*, and largely told the world by *Chamier*, *Sadeel*, *Whitaker*, *Jewel*, *Usher*, *Morton*, *White*, *Chillingworth*, *Crakenthorpe*, and abundance more. And I thought it strange if either Papacy, or that Tympanite of the Clergy which tended to it, were of God, that the Persons should be ordinarily so bad, and it should introduce so great mischief in doctrine, worship and practice over the Christian world, and bring the Church into such a divided and polluted state, and that as the Clergy swelled the Body should pine away, and the Spirit of holiness and Love be turned into the Skeleton of Ceremony and Formality, and into hatred, cruelty, and tearing and tormenting pains.

§ 18. Upon all such thoughts I concluded in these resolutions;
 1. That I must not accuse any Office made by God, for mens abuse of it. 2. Nor must I accuse the good for the faults of the bad. 3. Nor Confound the Office it self, with its disease, and the accidental Tympanite. 4. Nor aggravate humane infirmities in good men, as if they were the crimes of malignant Enemies. 5. Much less lay any of the blame on Christianity or Piety, when nothing in the world is so much against all these Evils, nor would they have been so far limited, restrained or resisted, had it not been for that Christianity and Piety that was kept up against it; nor is there any other cure of it. It is not by Religion, but for want of more true and serious Religion, that all these mischiefs have so lamentably prevailed.

§ 19. I therefore resolving to avoid extreams, concluded thus;
 1. That it is most certain that Christ is the only Head of the Church.

2. And that as such he himself did make universal Laws, and will be the final universal Judge, and there is no other that hath universal Legislative and Judicial Power but he.

3. As such he instituted necessary Church-Officers; first, extraordinary ones to be his Instruments in Legislation, as *Moses* was to the Jews, giving them his Spirit extraordinarily for that use, to bring all that he taught them to their remembrance, and guide them to deliver and record all his Commands: And ordinary Ministers (as the Priests and Levites to the Jews) to teach and apply these Commands, or universal Laws, to the end of the World, but not to add, diminish or alter them.

4. That the formal Essence of this continued Sacred Ministry consisteth

consisteth in a derived *Power* and *Obligation* in subordination to Christ as Prophet, Priest and King, to Teach, to Guide the Churches in holy Worship, and to Rule them by the Pastoral Power, which maketh them Ministerial Judges of mens capacity for Church-Communion; but they have as such no forcing power of the Sword.

5. That there are two sorts of these Ministers accidentally distinguished: 1. Such as are only ordained to the Ministry in general, and not specially related to any one particular Church more than other; whose work is to do their best to Teach Infidels, and baptize them, and gather Churches, and occasionally to Officiate orderly in such Churches where they come as need their help. 2. Those that have moreover an additional call to be the stated Pastors, Overseers or Guides of particular Churches as fixed Officers of Christ. All which have the three foresaid Essentials of the Office, to Teach, Worship and Rule.

6. That the Office of these men is to be performed by themselves, and no Lay-man may do any Essential part of them by their deligation, and therefore (as in Physicians, Tutors, &c.) necessary Personal abilities are as essential as the necessary *dispositio materiae* is *ad receptionem alicujus formae*. And *ex quovis ligno non fit mercurius*.

7. That it is very much, and great, and most important work, which these Ministers have to do. To Preach God's Word understandingly, faithfully, constantly, fervently; to resolve the doubtful, to reprove the scandalous, to persuade the obstinate, to confute gainsayers, to comfort the sad, and strengthen the weak, particularly as there is occasion. To visit the sick, Catechize, Baptize, besides all acts of publick Government. Therefore one man cannot possibly do all this for too great a number of souls, but great Congregations must have many Ministers: And so they had in the Primitive Church, where the most able Speakers preacht usually in publick, and the rest did more of the personal and more private work.

8. And whereas it was very early that most single Churches had one that had a preheminance amongst the rest (not as of another Office, but as a President in a Colledge of Philosophers, Physicians or Divine Students, to be a Governour over those of his own profession, by moderate Guidance,) and it is not unmeet, that when one worthy Teacher hath gathered a Church,
and

and brought up younger Christians to Ministerial abilities, that they when they are ordained should take him for their Father, I will never gainsay such an Episcopacy in single Churches (that is, societies of Christians combined for personal Communion in Doctrine, Worship and Holy living under such Pastors as aforesaid.)

9. And because I find that the Apostles and Evangelists had a Ministerial care of many Churches to teach, reprove, exhort the Pastors and People; And though the Apostles extraordinary power and work ceased, yet *Church-Overfight* as well as Preaching being an ordinary continued work; and when I find Christ hath instituted some Teachers over many Churches, I dare not say that he hath repealed this till I can prove it. And the nature of the thing tells us, that if some grave holy men have the care of counselling and warning and reprovng the Ministers of many Churches who are below them in parts and worth; It may do much good and can do no harm to the Churches, while they have no power of force or tyranny, Therefore I resolved never to speak or do any thing against such Bishops of Bishops, though Diocesan.

§ 20. Thus far I have oft declared my self for Episcopacy: But finding in all the aforesaid History, how the Church came to the woful State that it hath been in these 1200. years, and what it suffereth by the Bishops and their Clergy in almost all parts of the Christian World; and that even the *English* Diocesans can endure no more Parochial Pastoral Discipline than they do, (I mean such as *Bucer in Script. Anglic.* prest so vehemently on King *Edw.* and the Bishops) and that they cannot contentedly hold their Lordships, Wealth and Honours, without silencing and ruining Two thousand such as I, or better; and using many thousands of godly Christians as they do; and finding that I and such others are accused as being disobedient to them--- and for not swearing and covenanting never to endeavour any alteration of their present Church-Government, and all excommunicate by the Canon that say there is any thing in it (even from the Archdeacon downward to [*the rest in Office*] repugnant to the Word of God) I took it at last to be my duty to give the Reasons of my dissent in a full Treatise of Episcopacy.

And because I perceived young men and strangers to former times, deceived by the general noise, *How Antient and*
Univer-

Universal Episcopacy hath been; as if all that is called Episcopacy were but one and the same thing; or as if we were against the Primitive Episcopacy; therefore I suddenly (and too hastily for want of time,) bestowed a few weeks in summing up the Heads of the History of Bishops and Councils, out of a few Historians which were most common, next at hand, and of most credit with those whose faults I opened: That it might be truly known How much the tumified degenerate sort of Prelacy had caused the Divisions and Calamities of the Church.

§ 21. For this Mr. *Morrice* (as fame saith) and many more are so greatly offended with me, and say of me herein what they do. And on pretence of *Vindicating the Primitive Church* (which untruly implyeth that I who vindicated it against corrupters did oppose it) he defendeth the corruptions and sinful miscarriages and diseases of the Prelates: And this he doth, 1. By striving to make me contemptible as *unlearned*, as if that would excuse the sins which I rehearse and lament: He findeth in one place through my haste and heedlessness, a word of *Theodore* misplaced, and the word [*Calami*] translated *Quills*, which he thinks should be *Reeds*; and one or two more such; as if he prevaricated, and had a design to extol the Book, which he finds no more and greater fault in, than he really hath done. And he proveth it likely that I never saw the Histories that stood by me near twenty years, because the Printer put a Comma between [*Marquardus*] and [*Freherus*] (I think there are a dozen Comma's misplaced in my whole Book;) when he himself saith of his own Book [*The faults that have escaped are almost infinite.*] But of these things more anon.

2. He loudly and frequently chargeth me with malicious falsifying History; and when he cometh to the proof, I have shewed you who the falsifier is.

3. The great thing I am accused of, is making the Bishops more the causes of Heresie, Schism and Violence, than they were: And of that I have said nothing, but what I think I have fully proved: And let the Reader judge by this following Catalogue.

Domineering Pride hath been the chief cause of Heresies and Schisms, especially working in the Clergy to tumid Prelacy and Tyranny.

I. I before noted how the Apostles began to strive who should be greatest, till the effusion of the Spirit after Christs rebukes had

had cured them. And what tyranny *Diotrephes* used through love of Preheminence.

II. If the doubtful stories of *Simon Magus* be true, his tumor was more than Papal; And *Epiphanius* makes *Menander*, *Saturnilus*, *Basilides*, to be but his Off-spring. The Original of the *Nicolaitans* and *Gnosticks* (who *Epiphanius* saith, had ensnared himself once) is utterly uncertain; *Carpocras*, *Cerintus*, *Ebion*, *Valentinus*, *Secundus*, *Ptolomæus*, were all but Birds of the same *Gnosticks* Nest, a crazed sort of men that mingled Christianity, Platonism, and Magical Imaginations; and what they were themselves, is not known: Such was *Marcus*, *Celartbasus*, *Heraclion*, the *Ophitæ*, the *Cainites*, the *Sethians*, *Cerdo*; *Marcion* was a Bishop's Son cast out for vice; and *Lucian*, *Apelles* and *Severus* his Off-spring, the Heads of their little Sects; whether Bishops or not, is unknown. What kind of Hereticks *Tertullian*, *Tatianus*, and *Origen* were, and how many faults as foul *Lactantius*, and many not numbered with Hereticks have, is well known: And among all these in those early daies, till there were Popes and Diocefans (such as now) in the world, none such could be Hereticks.

III. Many Councils contended about the time of *Easter*, and *Victor* with one part of Bishops, excommunicated *Polycrates* and the *Arian* Bishops; while, as *Socrates* and *Sozomen* tell us, the Churches that left it indifferent had peace.

IV. A Council of the best Bishops at *Carthage* decreed Rebaptizing.

V. A Council of the Bishops of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, &c, at *Iconium*, for Rebaptizing those Baptized by Hereticks: And *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* excommunicated them all.

VI. A Council at *Synadis*, and divers others decreed the same Rebaptizing.

VII. Divers more *African* Councils of good Bishops with *Cyprian*, decree the same, whom *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* condemneth.

VIII. Divers Bishops are said to be *Sabellian* Hereticks.

IX. *Paulus Samosatensis* Bishop of *Antioch* was a Heretick.

X. The Council of Bishops at *Cirta* in *Numidia* under *Secundus* Mr. M. calls worse than I do.

XI. A *Carthage* Council of 70 Bishops An. 306. set up the *Donatists* Schism, striving for the preheminence, who should be Bishop of *Carthage*.

XII. *An. 308.* Another *Donatists* Council had 270 Bishops. Many more Councils they had.

XIII. The first General Council at *Nice* we honour, and assent to its Creed: But thank *Constantine* for burning all their Libels, and keeping peace by his presence and speech.

XIV. The Schism made by *Meletius* and *Peter*, Bishops, is well known.

XV. The Heresie of *Arius* (a Presbyter that would have been a Prelate) quickly infected *Eusebius Nicomed.* if not *Eusebius Caesariensis*, and divers other Bishops.

XVI. *Epiphanius* saith, that *Audius* was driven to his Heresie by being long abused, beaten, and at last excommunicated for reproving the Bishops and Priests for their Covetousness, Luxury, and other sins: And so he became a Bishop himself.

XVII. *Eusebius Nicom.* made Bishop of *Constantinople* (whom you tell us *Valesius* thinks was no Heretick) hired a Whore at *Antioch*, to father her Child on *Eustathius* the Bishop there, and got more Bishops to depose him, and the Emperour to banish him.

XVIII. A Council of Bishops at *Tyre* unjustly condemn and persecute *Athanasius*.

XIX. Three Bishops (saith Mr. *M.* overcome with too much Wine and persuation) ordained *Novatian* falsly Bishop of *Rome* (before this aforementioned.)

XX. A Council at *Jerusalem An. 335.* tryed and approved *Arius* Faith, and restored him.

XXI. A Council at *Constantinople* condemned *Marcellus Ancyranus*, and *Athanasius*, and justified *Arius*.

XXII. A Council of near 100 Bishops at *Antioch*, 36 being *Arians*, deposed *Athanasius*.

XXIII. Another Council at *Antioch* make a new Creed without [*ὁμοούσιον*.]

XXIV. A Council of 376 Bishops at *Sardica*, decree Appeals to *Rome*, which *Augustin* and the *African* Bishops were against.

XXV. The *Semi-Arian* Bishops went to *Philippopolis*, and condemned such as the other at *Sardica* had absolved, but cast out [*ὁμοούσιον*] as not scriptural, and cast dreadful accusations on *Athanasius*, *Paulus C. P.* and *Marcellus*.

XXVI. *An. 350.* A Council at *Milan* received *Ursacius* and *Valens*, *Arians*.

XXVII. *Stephen*

XXVII. Stephen an *Arian* Bishop hired a Whore to go in to Bishop *Euphratas*; and this *Euphratas* after turned *Photinian*.

XXVIII. An. 353. A Council at *Arles* condemn *Athanasius*.

XXIX. An. 355. A General Council at *Milan* of above 300 Western Bishops (though the Eastern that were most *Arian* could not come) where *Athanasius* was condemned, and communion with the *Arians* subscribed.

XXX. An. 356. A Council at *Byterris* condemned and banished *Hilary*, and condemned them as Separatists or Schismatics that renounced the *Arian* Communion.

XXXI. A General Council at *Sirmium* of 300 Western Bishops besides the Eastern, made three different Creeds, condemned *Athanasius*, left out the word [Substance] made *P. Liberius*, and old *Osus* subscribe against *Athanasius*.

XXXII. The Oriental Bishops at *Ancyra* were only for [ὁμοούσιος] and not [ὁμοούσιον] and with *Macedonius* against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.

XXXIII. A General Council 400 Bishops met at *Ariminum*; of whom most at first were Orthodox; but after when the Emperour interposed, subscribed to the *Arian* Party.

XXXIV. The rest sate at *Seleucia*, and were more Orthodox, but divided into *Acacians*, who were for leaving out [Substance] and *Semi-Arians*, who were for [Like Substance.] *Sulp. Severus* tells us, that many Bishops quieted their Consciences by [subscribing in their own sense] and so deceived the *Arians* that thought they had won them.

XXXV. A Council at *C. P.* made a Ninth Creed, leaving out [Substance and Hypostasis, The *Semi-Arians* for this banished the Authors.

XXXVI. A Council at *Antioch* cast out *Miletius*, and made a Tenth Creed, worse than the rest.

XXXVII. *Julian* Reigning, *Athanasius* calls a Council at *Alexandria*, which had almost divided East and West about the names [Hypostasis and Persona;] but that some wise men persuaded them that the words were both of the same signification; which yet was hardly entertained afterward.

XXXVIII. A Council at *Antioch* of *Semi-Arians* Petitioned *Zo-
vianus* to cast out the *Acacians*; till they knew his mind, and then the *Arian* Bishops turned Orthodox.

XXXIX. At a Synod in *Tyana* *Enstath. Sebast.* denied [ὁμοούσιον] and the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.

XL. An *Arian* Council of Bishops in *Caria* under *Valens*: And another at *Singeduni* in *Misia*.

XLI. *Damasus* in a *Roman* Council condemneth *Sisinnius* for *Conventicles*: For at the Election in the Church they fought for these two: And *Damasus* his Party one day left 137 dead bodies behind them, and got the better.

XLII. *Valens* by cruelty set up *Arian* Bishops in a great part of the East.

XLIII. The first General Council at *C. P.* is commonly called the Second General, when yet that at *Sardica*, *Ariminum*, *Sirmium*, *Milan*, were General also: They were many good men, and did good: But how they used *Nazianzen* to the great grief of the Church of *C. P.* and how *Nazianzen* describeth them, I desire the Reader to take from his own words, and not from mine, or Mr. *M.*

XLIV. The Council at *Cæsar Augusta* did that which made *Martin* separate from them and all their Councils after to his death.

XLV. A Council at *C. P.* set up *Flavian* at *Antioch*, and a Council at *Rome* were for *Paulinus*: The former advance *C. P.* and *Jerusalem*.

XLVI. Many Schismatical Councils of *Donatist* Bishops followed.

XLVII. For *Theophilus* case I refer you to *Socrates* and *Sozomenus*.

XLVIII. *Epiphanius* his Schismatical usage of *Chrysostom* is unexcusable.

XLIX. And so is *Theophilus* prosecution of him, and a Synod of Bishops casting him out, and *Cyril's* resisting the restoring of his name when dead, and reviling the *Joannites* that kept separated Meetings for his sake.

L. The *Diospolitan* Council absolved *Pelagius*. Divers *Carthage* Councils condemned him. P. *Innocent* condemned him. *Zosimus* once absolved him, and condemned his accusers.

The Bishops cast out for *Simony*, I will not number here.

LI. The Contentions between *Boniface* and *Eulalius*, and others after them to get the Bishoprick of *Rome*, are so many as I will not number them. And the striving of three Bishops successively against the *African* Fathers for the *Roman* super-eminentence and Appeals to *Rome*, are commonly known.

LII. One

LII. One of Bishop *Boniface's* Decrees is, That [No Bishop shall be brought before any Judge, Civil or Military, either for any Civil or Criminal Cause.]

LIII. What the first General Council at *Ephesus* did in the Cause of *Nestorius* I have fully opened: *Derodons* Evidence is undeniable, that *Nestorius* was Orthodox as to the Matter, though he mistook as to words, in thinking that Mary should not be called *The Mother of God*, but of *Christ who is God*. (which *Luther* also shews.) Yet since that Councils anathematizing him, a great body of Christians in many Eastern Kingdoms, to this day are a party hereticated by the rest. Is not such an effect of 1200 years continuance, a witness of the failing of that Council?

LIV. The Bishops of *C. P.* and *Alexandria* striving which should be greatest, a Council at *C. P.* decided it for *C. P.* where *Theodoret* was for *Alexandria*, and fell under displeasure.

LV. *Leo M.* Bishop of *Rome*, claims the title of *Head of the Catholick Church*.

LVI. Two Councils at *C. P.* one against *Eutyches* and the other for him.

LVII. The second Council at *Ephesus* is so heavily accused by *Mr. M.* and such others, that I need not accuse it more. *Flavianus* of *C. P.* was there hurt to death. Yet *Bellarmin* confesseth it wanted nothing of a true General Council but the Pope's approbation.

LVIII. A Council at *Alexandria* under *Dioscorus* excommunicateth *Leo*.

LIX. What the Council of *Calcedon* hath done I have shewed: Instead of reconciling the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Controversies by a skillful explication of their ambiguous unfit words, they Anathematized both and banished *Dioscorus*, And ever since to this day, the *Eutychians* and *Nestorians* are separated Dissenters.

LX. At *Alexand.* the Bishops party that the Council was for (*Proterius*) and *Timothy* whom *Dioscorus* party were for, so raged, that they murdered *Proterius*, and dragg'd his carcass in the streets, and bit his flesh: And each party still accused the other.

LXI. *Pulcheria* (*Theodosius's* Sister and *Martian's* Wife) being for the Council, and *Eudocia* *Theodosius's* Widdow for *Dioscorus*, they animated the several Parties of Bishops and Monks: And in *Palestine* *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was expelled, *Severianus* Bishop of *Schythopolis* killed, &c.

LXII. *Leo*

LXII. *Leo* the Emperour commanding obedience to the *Calcedon* Council, at *Alexandria* and *Antioch* the Armies of contending Bishops were in continual war, calling each other *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*; one Bishop banished by the Emperour, the contrary Bishop murdered by the people, and cast into the River; the next getting the better again, &c.

LXIII. In *Martian's* and *Leo's* daies most Bishops subscribed to the Council. When *Basiliscus* usurped, and was against the Council, saith *Niceph.* three Patriarchs, and five hundred Bishops renounced it, most before having damned its adversaries. *Basiliscus* recanteth his Commands, and commandeth all to be for the Council, and the Bishops obey him, save those of *Asia*. *Zeno* recovereth the Empire, and is for the Council, and the *Asian* Bishops turn for it, and say they subscribed to *Basiliscus* at first for fear. *Zeno* seeing it impossible otherwise to make Peace, leaveth all indifferent whether they will subscribe the Council or not. Then the War grew hotter between the Bishops and their Armies against each other, specially the Patriarchs; all being in Confusion, at *Alexand.* *Antioch* and *C. P.* and no Emperour wise enough to quiet them.

LXIV. *Anastasius* a peaceable man, made Emperour, leaveth all to think of the Council as they will: Then the Bishops fall into three Parties; some for every word in the Council; some anathematizing it, and some for the indifferency: The East one way, the West another, and *Lybia* another; yea each Country divided among themselves: Saith *Niceph.* So great confusion and blindness of mind befell the whole World. The Emperour falls upon the impeaceable of both sides: At his own place *C. P.* the Sedition of the People overcame him, for their Council Bishop, which turned the Emperour more against the Council, and that Bishop and the rest.

LXV. At *Antioch* the Armies of two Bishops fought it out, and the Council Party getting the better, killed so many Monks, as to save the labour of burying them, they cast their bodies into the River: And after another Party of them made as great a slaughter. For this blood the Emperour banish'd *Flavianus* the Council Bishop: This was called Persecution. *Pet. Alex.* being dead, the Bishops of *Alex.* *Egypt* and *Lybia*, fell all into pieces among themselves, and had separate Meetings: The rest of the East separated from the West, because the West refused Communion with them,

them unless they would anathematize *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, *Moggus*, and *Acacius*: And yet saith *Niceph.* *Qui germani Dioscori & Eutychetis sectatores fuerunt, ad maximam paucitatem redacti sunt.* Note that *Flavian* the Council Bishop for fear with his Fellow-Bishops (threatened by Bishop *Xenaias*) subscribed an Anathema against *Theodore*, *Theodorite*, *Ibas*, as *Nestorians*: The *Isaurian* Bishops yield to anathematize the Council. *Severus* a fierce Enemy of the *Nestorians* made Patriarch at *Antioch*, forced many Bishops to renounce the Council; and many to fly. The *Isaurian* Bishops repent and condemn *Severus*: The Emperour commanded out two Bishops for condemning their Patriarch: The People defend them, and force the Emperour to desist, because he would shed no blood for Bishops. *Helias* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, saw all the Bishops in such confusion, that he would communicate with none of them, but the Bishop of C. P. The Monks at *Jerusalem* proclaim Anathema to all that equal not the four Councils to the four Evangelists, and write to the Emperour that they would make good the conflict to blood, and went about to engage men to the Council: The Emperour commanded the Bishop to reform this: He refuseth. The Emperour sendeth Souldiers to compel them, and the Bishops and Monks forcibly cast them out of the Church. He sent *Olympius* with a stronger band, who cast out the Bishop: The next Bishops and more Souldiers had yet more conflicts after this, and the Souldiers driven away by force.

LXVI. *Felix* of *Rome*, with 77 Bishops, excommunicate *Acacius* of C. P. (with a [*Nunquam Anathematis vinculis exuendus*]) and their own two Bishops that obeyed the Emperour in communicating. The Schism between *Laurentius* and *Symmachus*, came to blood-shed, when five or six Councils laboured to heal it. *Symmachus* excommunicateth the Emperour and Bishop of C. P. as communicating with Hereticks; but not an *Arian* King then at *Rome*.

LXVII. A Council of 80 Bishops at *Sidon* anathematize the Council of *Calcedon*.

The striving Parties keep up still in great Bodies, and the *Melchites* (as they call those that obeyed Kings and the Council) have one Patriarch at *Damascus*, the *Eutychian Jacobites* one at *Mesopotamia*, the *Maronites* one at *M. Libanus*, all called Patriarchs of *Antioch*, (and the *Romans* make a fourth of the same title)

title) and the *Nestorians* have their Patriarch at *Muzal*.

Of the many Heresies or Sects that rose up from the intemperate opposition to *Nestorius*, and the woful ruines they made in the East after the *Calcedon* Councils, and all caused by Pride and Prosperity, and wantonness of Wit, and stopt only by the Conquest of the *Sarazens* and *Arabians*, and how orthodox now in their Captivity and Poverty they all are, even the *Jacobites*, the *Nestorians*, the *Armenians*, the *Cophti*, the *Abassines*, the *Indians*, and the *Maronites*, see the notable words of *Brierwrod Enquir.* p. 180, 181, 182, 183. As also how the *Persian King* was a great cause of the spreading of the *Nestorians* through his Dominions.

LXVIII. The East and West were divided in *Justin's* Reign, on the Question, whether the names of two Orthodox dead Bishops should be restored into the *Dypticks*, even *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, whom the Pope had damned as communicating with Hereticks; the Bishops of the East being for it, and the West against it.

LXIX. *Justin* turning the stream for the *Calced.* Council, the Bishops in a Council at *Jerusalem*, and another at *Tyre* are for it, and condemn *Severus*. And a *Roman* Council condemneth the three dead Bishops of *C. P.* *Acacius*, *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*.

LXX. So far were the Bishops yet from Peace, that *Justinian* being Emperour, headed the Council Party, and his Wife the adverse Party.

About 30000 they say were then killed in *C. P.* at an Insurrection.

LXXI. A mischievous Schism for the Bishoprick at *Rome*, between *Boniface 2.* and *Dioscorus* and *Agapetus* after *Boniface*.

LXXII. In *Justinian's* time a Controversie arose, whether we may say [One of the Trinity was crucified?] *Hormisdas* Bishop of *Rome* said No. The *Nestorians* took hold of this and said, [Then we may not say Mary was Mother to one of the Trinity.] *Justinian* sent for a Council about it to Pope *John*: He and his Bishops concluded contrary to *Hormisdas*, that we may say [One of the Trinity was crucified.] And say *Baronius* and *Binius* [Ita mutatis hostibus arma mutari necesse fuit.] Faith changeth as occasions change. Reader, if thou seest not here how Bishops have broken the Church in pieces, I must not tell thee, lest Mr. M. be angry.

I in.

I intreat the Reader to see what I said, Hist. p. 132. of the Conference of *Hypatius* and the *Eutychians*.

LXXIII. A Council at *C. P.* calls their Bishop *Patriarcha Oecumenicus*, and condemn divers Bishops, as doth a Council at *Jerusalem*.

LXXIV. At *Rome* the *Arian* King made *Silverius* Bishop, and others chose *Vigilius* that murdered him. *Vigilius* excommunicated *Menna* of *C. P.* which *Justinian* revenged.

LXXV. A new Controversie is stated whether Christs body was corruptible: The denyers had *Gainas* A. Bishop; The affirmers had *Theodosius*; The first were called *Phantasiastæ*, the other *Corrupticolæ*. Most were for *Gainas*, but the Soldiers for *Theodosius*: They fought many daies, and the Soldiers killed many, and many of them were killed, and the Women with stones from the top of the houses, and the Soldiers with fire, continued the war: And the division continued in *Liberatus's* daies: *Justinian* was so zealous for the Council of *Calcedon*, that he murdered thousands (as they say) in *Egypt*, and yet dyed a reputed Heretick himself, being for the *Corrupticolæ*, and *Evagrius* saith, when he had set the whole world in tumult, he was damned himself. But God best knoweth that.

LXXVI. A Council at *Barcelona* Decree that Priests must cut their beards, but not shave them.

LXXVII. By the Cheat of an *Eutychian* Bishop *Justinian* was persuaded that the condemning of some Writings of *Theodore Mopsuest*, *Theodorite* and *Ibas*, would reconcile the Bishops: He calls a General Council at *C. P.* to that end (usually called the 5th) His Letters are read opening the doleful divisions, that the Churches had no Communion with one another, &c. The three Bishops writings are read: *Theodorite* charged by this General Council with that salt Epistle against dead *Cyril*, and a like Speech at *Antioch*, and none vindicated him: *Binus* and Mr. *Morice* and others say the Letter is forged: I know not; But the *Tria Capitula* are condemned. And now this General Council hath made a new dividing snare. Many that were for the *Calcedon* Council feared this was a condemning of what they did in receiving *Theodorite*, &c. The Adversaries were never the more satisfied; but saith *Binus* himself [The end was not obtained, but a most grievous mischief added to the Church--- The whole Catholick Church was torn by Schism, and worse, the Emperour stir'd up Persecution,

secution, deposed or banished P. Vigilius: But lest the East should all forsake the West, he recanted and consented to the Council. Doth either the work, or the effect commend this General Council?

LXXVIII. A Council of *Jerusalem* save one Bishop, presently received this Decree.

LXXIX. A Western Council at *Aquileia* condemn this 5th General Council at C. P. and (saith *Binius*) separated from the whole *Catholick Church* (even from *Rome*) for an hundred years till *Sergius* reconciled them. 2. Were the Western Bishops or the Pope then the Western Church? So many separated, that *Vigilius* being dead, there could but two Bishops (and a Presbyter) be got to ordain *Pelagius* his Successor. But the Emperour and his Pope persecute the Bishops, and the Schism seemed desperate.

LXXX. Another Council at C. P. An. 587. decree that *John* Bishop of C. P. be called *The Universal Bishop*; which greatly increased the Churches divisions.

LXXXI. King *Gunthram* called a Council at *Mascon* An. 589. finding all things grow worse and worse, & all long of the Bishops only, saith *Binius*.

LXXXII. Even Great *Gregory* called a Synod against the dissenting Bishops, and they not obeying his summons, the Bishop of *Aquileia* was ruined (the Western Head) *Sabinian* that succeeded *Gregory* would have had his Books burnt. *Boniface* the third got *Phocas* the Murderer to declare *Rome* the Chief Bishops Seat (He to whom *Greg.* had sung *Latentur cœli, & exultet terra, &c.*)

LXXXIII. Next rose up the *Monothelite* Controversie. *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexand.* to end the Controversies aforementioned, was told that to use the word [*Dei virilis operatio & voluntas*] would unite them all, which past as *satisfaction* in a Council at *Alexand.* *P. Honorius* persuaded them to silence [One] and [Two.]

But this Counsel was rejected, and now whether *Christ* had [One] or *Two Wills and Operations*, became as *de fide*, the new War of the Bishops through the world. Some were for [One] and some for [Two] as if [*Will and Operation*, and *One or Two*] were words that had but one signification; When every Novice in Philosophy must grant that *Christ's Will and Operation* in some sense, was but *One*, and in other senses *Two*, as I have proved. But *Sergius* Bishop of *Const.* set it on foot, *Heraclius* being for it, and *Pyrrhus* his Successor followed it on. And *Sergius* by a Council

Council of Bishops at C. P. decreed for [*One Will.*]

The Opinion and the Emperour *Constans* his silencing both, are condemned at *Rome*. The Pope, Emperours and Bishops, are all condemned, and persecuting each other about it.

LXXXIV. *Const. Pogonat.* called a General Council at C. P. called the 6th, which condemned *Macarius* Bishop of *Ant.* and the pacificatory Epistles of *P. Honorius* and *Sergius* as Heretical, and all that were for *One Will*, and *One Operation* of Christ;
 1. As denominated *a naturis & earum principiis seu facultatibus*, the Divine and Humane Will and Operations were and are Two:
 2. As denominated *ab unitate personæ*; they are the Will and Operations of One person, and so far may be called One. 3. As denominated *ab unitate objectivæ* they are One: The Divine and Humane Nature will the same thing, so far as the Humane willeth, and do so far the same work: But if any will make a new Heresie by disputing whether the Divine Nature alone do not will and act somewhat without the volition and action of the Humane (since the Incarnation) they shall have no company of mine in it. 4. In the sense as the Operation of the principal and instrumental Cause are One, producing One Effect; so Christ's Divine and Humane Operations are One. 5. As *Consent* denominated *Unity*, and the Old Christians are said to be of One heart and soul, One mind and mouth; and Christ prayeth that we may be One in him, so his Will and Operation are One. 6. Yea if there be a sort of Union between Christ & his Members, and between the Blessed in Heaven, which is quite beyond our present comprehension, it is much much more so between Christ's Divine and Humane Will and Operations.

And now Reader, whether it was well done to pass over these and many other needful distinctions, and to put men barely to say that Christ's Will and Operations were not One, but Two, when really they were both One and Two; and to make the Pope himself a Heretick, for one of the wisest Epistles that ever Pope wrote (I am no such enemy to a Pope as to be partial;) and to divide the very Western Church from *Rome*, and make *Aquileia* its Head for an hundred years, and to set all the *Roman* Empire in a flame, anathematizing and separating from one another, because they had not skill or sobriety enough to ask each other by such distinctions what they meant, I say, if this be wisely and well done, and be a praise to Prelacy, and I be to blame for

blaming it, then good and evil is but what every diseased soul will make it. Mr. *Morrice* and his Masters, that honour their *Leviathan* for such works as these, do tell us, that they would do it themselves were it to be done again. And let it be their work, and the reward be theirs: For my part I abhor and renounce it.

LXXXV. Faith and Salvation now depended so much on Arithmetick, that the Bishops of *Spain* raised another Arithmetical Controversie, asserting *Three Substances in Christ, his Divinity, his Soul, and his Body*, and say, [*A Will begat a Will, that is, the Divine, the Humane.*] These things are true. But the wise Pope was so affrighted with *Arithmetical Controversies* by experience of the mischievous Effects, that he cautioned them much about it, and for that some judged him erroneous.

LXXXVI. The Council at *Trull* was one of the best that ever they had, yet shewed the Core of the Churches Plague, by decreeing, *That whatever alteration the Imperial Power maketh on any City, the Ecclesiastical Order shall follow it.* This Clergy ambition nurst up Anti-Christ.

LXXXVII. A Council at *Aquileia* condemned the 5th General Council for condemning the *Tria capitula*.

LXXXVIII. Pope *Sergius* condemning the *Trullane* Council, the Emperour commanded him to be a Prisoner, and the Souldiers bribed rescued him.

LXXXIX. *Bardanes Philippicus* being made Emperour, he calleth a General Council at *C. P.* where, saith *Binius*, out of the *East* there were innumerable Bishops, (which is not said of any other Council) who all condemned the 6th General Council, and their Decrees of *Two Wills and Operations*.

Here (not I, but) *Baronius* and *Binius* say [*Thus at the Beck of an Emperour, and the Will of a Monothelite Patriarch, the holy 6th Synod is condemned, and what they said of Two Wills with Christ, and two Operations, and all retracted by the Decree and Subscription of very many Oriental Bishops, that were in one moment turned from being Catholick to be Monothelites.*] But do they forget the 100 Year, that even the West made a head against the 5th Council and the Pope.

XC. Next all the World is set together by the Ears about Images, for which the Pope rebelled against and rejected the Emperour for *Charles Martel* of *France*.

And Pope *Zachary* bid *Boniface* call a Council to eject the Affertors of *Antipodes*.

XCI. In

CXI. In a General Council at C. P. 338 Bishops condemned the worshipping of Images, and swear men not to adore them, and destroyed reliques, &c. and decreed, that Christ's Body is not flesh in Heaven: But the Pope and Western Bishops of his Party, condemn this Council.

XCII. The Greek Bishops condemn the Roman Bishops for adding [*Filioq;*] to the Creed, and so another occasion of Schism is raised.

XCIII. The Schisms in *Italy* and *Rome* itself now grew so great and the Effects in Blood and Confusions so dismal, that I must not number them one by one.

XCIV. *Constantine* and *Leo Isaur.* Emperours, being dead, a Woman *Irene*, and her Infant Son are for Images, and call a General Council for them at *Nice*, where *Tharasis* Bishop of C. P. got the Bishops to carry it for Images and Reliques, and the Chief Bishops that had condemned them before, now cried *pec- cavimus*, and condemned those that were against adoration of Images, &c. If Mr. *Morrice* call me an Enemy to Repentance for reciting this, I cannot help it.

XCV. Yet more Schism: Two Bishops, *Fælix* and *Elipandus*, say, That Christ as the eternal Word was Gods natural Son, but as Man he was but his adopted Son: (thinking that *duo fundamenta*, viz. *Generatio eterna*, & *temporalis*, *duas faciunt Relationes*, *filiationis in una persona*.] But Councils condemned them as making two Sons. And the great Council at *Frankford* condemning the second Council of *Nice*, and Image-worship, condemn also these two Bishops, 1. For saying Christ was God's Adopted Son; 2. And that by Grace; 3. And that he was a Servant. Is any of this false, not excluding a higher title?

The Council concludeth that Christ was not a Servant subjected to God by penal servitude: Sure it was part of his suffering for our sins, to be in the form of a Servant, *Phil. 2. 7.*

XCVI. *Binus* saith the *Filioq;* was added to the Creed by the Spanish and French Bishops without the Pope.

XCVII. One Council at C. P. restored him that married the Emperour adulterously to another wife: And another condemned *Theod. Studita* and *Plato*, for being against it.

XCVIII. The most excellent Emperour *Ludov. Pius* was so zealous to reform the Bishops, that they hated him, and in a Council at *Compendium* (*Compeigne*) most perfidiously deposed him.

him, and after basely abused him, even without the Pope.

XCIX. As to please his Son *Lotharius*, they deposed the Father; so when he was beaten by his Brethren, they after in a Council at *Aquisgrane* (*Aken*) deposed *Lotharius*, accusing him as they did his Father.

C. At C. P. a Council was called by the power of another Woman *Theodora* and the Bishops that had under divers Emperours condemned Image-worship, now turn to it again, and anathematize on a sudden the opposers.

CI. The Bishops own *Lotharius* Adulterous marriage with *Waldrada*.

CII. The Councils that set up and pull'd down *Ignatius* and *Photius* at C. P. and the woful stir that they made as Emperours changed, were lamentable.

CIII. Many contrary Councils were between the French Bishops that were for *Lotharius* divorce and the Pope.

CIV. *Basil* the Emperour writes to the Pope to pardon all his Bishops, or else they should be without, because all had miscarried, and turned with the times.

CV. A General Council at *Const.* called by the Papists, *The Eighth General Council*, condemned *Photius* again, and set up *Ignatius*, and the Changers cryed, *peccavimus*, and make extreme Decrees for Images (But they well condemn *subscribing to be true to their Patriarchs and Bishops*;) but decree that all Princes and Subjects worship the Bishops, who must not fall down to them. Other horrid Elevations of Prelates above Princes they decreed--saying, *A Bishop, though it be manifest that he is destitute of all Virtue of Religion, yet is a Pastor*; and the Sheep must not resist the Shepherd.

CVI. A dangerous Rent between *Rome* and C. P. what Bishop should have the *Bulgarians*.

CVII. A Council at *Metz* called *Prædatorium*, gave the Kingdom to *Car. Calv.* unjustly.

CVIII. A Council at *Pavia* falsly make *Charles* Emperour.

CIX. Another (*Pontigonense*) confirmed it; (the Pope claiming the Power.)

CX. A Roman Council unjustly made *Ludov. 3.* Emperour.

CXI. A General Council at C. P. again set up *Photius*, and cast out [*Filioq;*]

CXII. The Roman actions for and against *P. Formosus*, are odious to all sober Christians Ears.

CXIII. A

CXIII. A Council at *Soysons* confirm the A. Bishoprick of *Rhemes* to a Child of five years old, Son to the E. of *Aquitane*. Divers other Councils do and undo about the same Cause.

CXIV. The History of the Bishops of *Rome* and their Councils from hence forward is so lamentable that even the most flattering Papist Historians mention them with detestation. So that I must not stay to name many particulars.

CXV. *An. 1049.* A *Roman* Council was fain to pardon Simoniacal Bishops and Priests, because the Cry was, that else none would be left to officiate.

CXVI. Being come into the *Roman* sink, I will pass above an hundred more of the Councils of this woful sort of Bishops, lest Mr. *Morrice* think that I suppose him to vindicate them, or not to abhor them. Only remembering my Reader of a few General or notable things : viz.

I. The multitude of Schisms, and long vacancies at *Rome*; and the horrid incapacity of very many Popes, which prove an interrupted succession.

II. The horrid wars that long infested *Italy* by the Popes means.

III. The dismal wars with many Emperours, and the Bishops and Councils half on one side and half on the other.

IV. The Council that called the Emperours and others Princes power of investing Bishops, the *Henrician* Heresie, and judg'd the Bishops that had been for it to be dig'd out of their graves and burnt.

V. The Subjecting and debasing of all Christian Princes, making them but as the Body, and the Moon, and the Bishops, to be as the soul and the sun. Especially the General *Lateran* Council which decreed Transubstantiation, and all to be Hereticks that denied it; And oblige all temporal Lords to exterminate all such Hereticks on pain of Excommunication, deposition & damnation.

VI. The Councils of *Constance* and *Basils* that were for Reformation how falsely and cruelly they dealt with *Hus* and *Jerome* and rejected the four great requests of the *Bohemians*, and fixed their pollutions.

VII. The Councils of *Florence*, and that of *Trent*, which had more Learned men, who yet more obstinately managed the Enmity to Reformation.

VIII. The present State of the Universal Church throughout the World as it is divided into *Papists*, *Protestants*, *Greeks*, *Moscovites*,

evites, Georgians, with the Circassians and Mengrelians, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Cophitis, Abasines, Maronites, Melchites: And what thoughts these have of one another.

And I would desire Mr. *Morrice* to tell us,

1. Whether he believes not verily that all these Instances prove that the Bishops have been the chief cause, and that by Ambition, Pride and Worldliness?

2. Whether it be not the Bishops that in the *Roman* and other Parties now, are the greatest hinderers of Reformation, and of Concord? and it would not be soon done were it not through them?

3. Where it is that he will stop in his Vindication of the Bishops and their Councils, and go no further? and by what cogent reason?

4. Whether he thought he had well defended the Church-Tyranny which I accused? 1. By vindicating the first Ages, and others whom I praised, and accused not; 2. And by letting fall his Vindication (save a few consequent quibbles) at the fourth General Council; which was in 451. And so seems to vindicate the Bishops and Councils but for the space of 150 years of the time that I mentioned their degeneration?

5. Whether if the Bishops had been willing when they had the King's Commission to make necessary alteration, or were but to this day willing to prefer things necessary before things hurtful or indifferent, we might not live in happy and holy Love and Peace in *England*?

6. Whether he can blame a man that believes in Christ, for lamenting the doleful corruption and division of the Christian world, and for enquiring of, and lamenting the sinful causes.

7. If that Church Prelacy which they justly call the best in all the world can endure no more Parish Discipline than we have, nor can endure such a Ministry as are silenced by hundreds or thousands (than whom no Nation on Earth abroad that I can hear of hath better) can you blame us for suspecting that somewhat is amiss with them, and more with others?

8. I hope you will yet remember that I did not appear as an accuser of Prelacy or Conformity, but as importuned by yourselves to give the reasons why I dare not take your *Covenant* and *Oath* never to endeavour any alteration of your Church Government: and that after seventeen years silence. My prayers

to

to God shall be my endeavour for these following Alterations.

1. That the Primitive Discipline may be exercised in the Parish Churches, as *Bucer* importuned the King and Bishops *de Regno Dei*, &c.

2. That to that end we may either have so many Bishops under the Diocesan as be capable to do it, or the Presbyters enabled, allowed and obliged to do it.

3. And that we may not instead of it have only a distant Court of men that know not the Parishioners, where a Lay Chancellour decreeth Excommunication, and Absolution, which the Parish Priest must publish, though his conscience be against it.

4. And that Diocesans may not silence faithful Ministers without such cause as Christ will allow, nor set up ignorant bad ones and bind the Parishioners to hear and communicate with no other. I am so far from precise expectations from Diocesans, or from reviling them, that I do constantly praise them as very good Bishops who do no harm, or but a little, and if they should never preach themselves, so they will not hinder others.

9. And as for my calling *Things* and *Persons* as they are, I hope you will not say that it was out of *Malice* that *Anastasius Platina*, *Massonius*, *Stella*, *Sigibert*, *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, *Binnus*, &c. have recorded such horrid crimes of Popes, and others also of Prelates. And is it malice in me to transcribe their History?

I am of *Dr. Henry Moore's* mind, who saith, [*Mystery of Iniquity* p. 388. "Hence it is plain that they are the truest friends to Christendom, even to Rome it self, that do not sooth them up in their sins, by mitigating and hiding their foul miscarriages, but deal apertly and plainly with them for their own safety; that neither admit, nor invent subterfuges to countenance or palliate their Idolatrous and superstitious practices, but tell them plainly how much they are apostatized from the true Worship of God and Christ into Paganism and Idolatry. Better are the rebukes of a faithful friend, than the hired flatteries of a glozing mercenary."] I pray mark this well.

10. I take two things to be the degenerating and corruption of Episcopacy.

1. When they became so bad that they were not willing to do good according to their undertaken Office. Bad men will do ill in any place.

2. When they had put themselves into a state of *incapacity*, that they *could not do the Good* undertaken, were they never so willing.

1. Since great Baits of Wealth and *Domination* have tempted the worst men to be the Seekers, Bishops have rarely been good, except under a Saint-like Prince or People that had the Choice; nor are ever like to be. And what work the Enemies of Holiness will make by abusing Christ's Name against himself, is easie to know; such will take the best men for the worst, and call them all that's naught, that they may quiet their Consciences in destroying them.

2. And since a Diocese of many hundred or score Parishes hath had but one Bishop for Discipline, the work is become impossible to the best. But when a few Bad men will mercenarily undertake Impossibleities, and so *Badness* and *Impossibility* go together, alas, what hope, but of a better world above?

Saith *Luther de Concil. & Eccles. p. 300. Sed quam sunt intenti hanc crassam & asininam fatuitatem? Unus Episcopus nonnunquam habet tres Episcopatus vel Dioeceses, & tamen vocatur Unius Uxoris maritus, & cum habet tantum unum Episcopatum, tamen interdum habet centum, ducentas, quingentas Parochias, aut etiam plures, & vocatur tamen Sponsus unius Ecclesiae. -- Hi non sunt digami. -- Tam insulas & ineptissimas nenas recipit mens humana; ita permittente Deo cum a verbo discedimus, & omnia limatius & subtilius scrutamur quam ipse vult nos scrutari.] Whether you reverence *Luther* any more than *Calvin* I know not.*

11. To conclude this matter, two things I desire you, or at least the Reader to consider,

1. Whether it be not a dreadful thing for a man to make the Church corrupting, dividing and confounding sins, to be all his own by defending or excusing them, on a false pretence of Vindicating the Primitive Church Government, which was contrary to them?

2. Whether you trust to Truth and Evidence, or to Interest and depraved Judgments, if you think men shall believe that you have confuted all this undoubted History, and the present experience of all the woful Christian World, by a general Cry that I write falsely and maliciously, or by saying that I am unlearned, or that I trusted to a Translation, or *Binnius*, or that *Binnius* mistook the year, (things that I will not turn over my Books

Books to try,) or that I misplaced or misunderstood a word of *Theodorite*, or mistranslated *Calami*, or such like. Such Believers of you are guilty of their own deceit.

§ 22. There is lately published by a nameless Prelatist, to shew the World what Spirit he is of, a Book pretending by the description of my Life from 1640. till 1681. to prove me one of the worst men alive. To that I will now say but these few words.

1. That let them take me to be as bad as they will, so they would have some mercy on their own and others Souls, and the Church of God.

2. That it's no wonder that we differ about Antient Times and History, and present Impositions, when the main difference in our Times is, who are godly, yea tolerable Christians, and who are intollerable Rogues; and those that (as before God) by long and intimate acquaintance, I judge to be the most serious, conscionable, humble, holy Ministers and People that were ever known to me, are the Persons that the Prelatists prosecute, silence, and cry out against as the most intollerable wicked Enemies of Piety, Truth and Peace. What is it that is the root of this?

3. That this foresaid Book is one continued Calumny, unworthy of an Answer, partly making my duty my sin (as that I disliked the many drunken Readers that were the Teachers of my Youth, &c.) and partly perverting scraps of sentences; and partly reciting one revoked *Book*, and a few retracted sentences of another, when *Augustin* is commended for retracting far more, and filling it with a multitude of most gross untruths, of his own fiction.

4. That as to his and Mr. *Morrice* and others talk of the Wars I say.

1. That I never thought the Parliament blameless.

2. That yet on *Bilson's* grounds I was in my Judgment, and Speech, and Action, comparatively for them while they made their Commissions to *Essex* for King and Parliament.

3. That from *Naseby* Fight I wholly laboured to have drawn off their Souldiers from Errour, and Rebellion, and Usurpation; in which I did and suffered more than multitudes of my Accusers.

4. That I never went so far against the Power of the King as

R. *Hooker* whom I have long ago confuted.

5. That I never struck or hurt man in the wars.

6. That I will consent to be silenced and imprisoned if they will but give those Ministers leave to preach Christs Gospel that never had to do with wars (unless for the King.)

7. That when our beginning Concord had restored the King, the *Scots*, though unsuccessfully fought for him, *Monk* & his Army, that had bloodily (at *Dundee*, &c.) fought against him, had with the Concurrence of Sir *Tho. Allen*, the *Londoners* and *Presbyterians* restored him, when the King by them came in Triumph, Honoured *Monk* and others of them, confest them the Cause of his Restoration, past an Act of Oblivion that we might all live in future Peace, I say, If after all this it be Prelacy and Clergy Interest and Spirit, that will rub over all the healed wounds, and strive again what ever it cost us to ulcerate the peoples minds, and resolve that the Land and Church shall have no Peace, but by the destruction of such as restored the King; I shall think never the better of Prelacy for this. But ask them, why did you not Speak it out in 1660 to *Monk* and his Army, or till now.

§ 23. And whereas that Advocate (described *Job. 8.*) and you are still deceiving the ignorant by facing men down with Confidence that I lie in saying that [*Two Episcopal Parties began the War in England and the Papists and Presbyterians came in but as Auxiliaries.*] I again say,

1. Allow me but reasonable leave, and I will prove it to the shame of you if you deny it.

2. At present I will but recite one clause in *Whitlocks Memorials*, pag. 45. even after they thought themselves under a necessity to please the *Scots* as far as they could. [*Anno 1640.*

"The Commons had debate about a new Form of Ecclesiastical Government, and July 17. agreed, That every Shire shall be a several Diocese; a Presbytery of Twelve Divines in each Shire, and a President as a Bishop over them; and he with the assistance of some of the Presbytery to ordain, suspend, deprive, degrade and excommunicate. To have a Diocesan Synod once a year, and every third year a National Synod, and they to make Canons, but none to be binding till confirmed by Parliament.

"The Primate of Armagh offered an expedient for conjunction in point of Discipline, that Episcopal and Presbyterian Government might not be at a far distance, but reducing Episcopacy to

the

"the Form of Synodical Government in the Primitive Church

Were not these men Episcopal? It's much like Mr. Thotndike's own motions saving his Opinion for Forein Jurisdiction.

§ 24. As to your first and last Chapters, and about the Antient Extent of Churches, while my Treatise of Episcopacy, which fully confuteth you, is unanswered; if I repeat it again, it will not be read by weary men. And another hath answered those parts of your Book, which is ready for the Press.

I after tell you where *Chrysostom* even in his time numbers the Christians in that great Imperial City to be an hundred thousand, that is as many as in *Martins* and *Stepney* Parishes, and perhaps in *Giles Cripplegate* too.

§ 25. To conclude, whereas Mr. M. in general chargeth me as falsifying History, I still call my self a HATER of FALSE HISTORY, and loath Mr. *Morrice's* History, because it is false: But if he will instead of falsifying and trifling, shew me any false History that I have owned, I will thank him unfeignedly, and retract it. But factious reproaching of good men, and painting the deformed face of Vice, go not with me for convincing proof. If I am not near of kin to *Erasmus*, I am a stranger to my self, even as *Merula*, and M. *Adamus* describe him, [*Ingenio erat simplex; adeo abhorrens a mendacio, ut puellus etiam odisset pueros mentientes; & senex ad illorum adspæctum etiam corpore commoveretur. Dignitatum & magnarum divitiarum contumax contemptor; neque quicquam prius otio habuit ac libertate.*] And I think, as it is said of *Cuspinian*, [*Ratus se satisfacturum ingenuo Lectori, siquæ verissima esse comperisset simplicissima oratione mandaret posteritati: satis enim est historico (ut præclare dixit apud Ciceronem Catullus) non esse Mendacem.*]

And as to my ends and expectations, I am not so vain as to write with any great hope of persuading many, if any who are possesst of large Diocess, Wealth and Power, to forsake them; much less to cure the common Thirst that corrupted Nature is possesst with, and to be the means of a Publick Reformation: If I may satisfie my Conscience, and save some from being deceived by false History about the Causes of the Antient Schisms, it's all that I can hope for: Had I lived in *Alb. Crantzins* daies, I might perhaps have said as he of *Luther* [*Frater, Frater, abi in cellam tuam, & dic Miserere mei Deus:*] *Et de Canonicis* *ut dicitur dictis, Nunquam posse eos reduci ad meliorem frugem*

nisi prius a viris doctis expugnata arce (i. e. Papatu.)

And for my self, none of the Interested mens reproaches are unexpected to me: Anger will speak. I know what the Papists say of the Reformers, and all the Protestants: And yet I expect that all at last will turn to the disgrace of falshood, by putting men to search Church-History for the Truth.

The case of *Capnio* is worth a brief recital. A covetous Jew pretending Conversion, contrived with the Fryers and Inquisitors, to get a great deal of money from the Jews, by procuring an Edict from the Emperour to burn all the Jews Books, that so they might purchase them of the Fryers. The Emperour will first hear what *Capnio* a great Hebrician saith: *Capnio* adviseth to spare all that only promoted the Hebrew Literature, and burn only those that were written against Christ. *Hockstrate* and the Fryers were vext thus to lose the prey, and accused *Capnio* of Heresie: The cause is oft tryed, especially at *Rome*: All the Learned Hebricians were for *Capnio*: The Fryers raged the more: This awakened many Learned men to search into the Cause, and armed them against the Fryers. *Galatinus*, *Hutten*, *Erasmus*, &c. are for *Capnio*. The Fryers accuse them also of Heresie: But by this they stirred up such a Party of the most Learned men against them, that when *Tezelius* came to vend his Indulgencies, *Luther* had so many ready to joyn against the Inquisitors and Mercenary cheating Fryers, as greatly furthered the Reformation. And two or three ingenuous Conformists who have lately written against the violent battering Canoneers, do tell us that some are like to be excited by the Overdoing of the Accusing silencing Party, to search better into the matter of Fact and Right, till they can distinguish between an Eucrasie and a Tympanite.

Or if this world be incurable, they cannot keep us out of the heavenly *Jerusalem*, where there is no Errour, Schism, nor Persecution, because no Ignorance, Malignity or Pride, but the General Assembly of perfect Spirits, are united in one perfect Head, in perfect Life, and Light, and Love.

The

The particular Defence of the History of Councils and Schisms.

An Account to Mr. Morrice why my mentioning the Church-distracting sins of the Clergy, when worldly grandeur corrupted them, is not a Dishonouring, but a Honouring of the Primitive Church. And to vindicate those sins is no Vindication of the Primitive Church.

CH A P. I.

The Reason and Design of my History of Bishops and Councils.

§ 1. **T**HEY that know the men with whom I have to do, and the Cause which I have in Controversie with them, will easily understand my purpose. The Persons with whom I am to deal, are such as hold,

1. That a *General Council* of Bishops or the Colledge of Bishops Governing *per Literas formatas* out of Council, are the Supreme Governing Power over the Universal Church on Earth, having the Power of Universal Legislation and Judgment.

2. That among these the Pope is justly the Patriarch of the West, and the *Principium unitatis* to the whole, and the ordinary President in such Councils. And say some, It belongs only to the President to call them, and they are but rebellious Routs that assemble without a just call.

3. That there is no concord to be had but in the Obedience to this Universal Governing Church. But all Persons and all National Churches are Schismatics who live not in such Subjection and obedience.

4. That such as the Diocesan Episcopacy which is over one lowest Church containing hundreds or multitudes of Parishes and Altars without any other Bishop but the said Diocesan is that Episcopacy which all must be subject to, while it is subject to the Universal supreme.

5. That every Christian must hold subjective Communion with the Bishop of the place where he liveth: And say some, must

must not practise contrary to his Commands, nor appeal for such practice to Scripture or to God.

6. That if this supreme Power silence the Diocesans, or these Diocesans silence all the Ministers in City or Country, they must Cease their Ministry and forsake the Flocks.

7. And say divers of them, They are no true Churches, or Ministers, that have not ordination from such Diocesans, yea by an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles: And for want of this the Forein reformed Churches are no true Churches, but the Church of *Rome* is.

Much more of this Nature I have already transcribed (and confuted) out of A. Bishop *Bromhall*, Dr. *Heylins* Life of A. Bishop *Laud*, Mr *Thorndike*, Mr *Dodwell* and divers others.

§ 2. The first thing then in my intention is to shew that the *Roman* Grandeur which is thought to be the Glory of the Church on Earth, and the necessary means of its Unity, safety and true prosperity, hath proved clean contrary, even the means of Church corruption in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline & Conversation, the Soil of the most odious crimes, the means of tyranny, suppression of true piety, and persecution of Gods faithful Servants, and of rebellious, War and cruel bloodshed.

§ 3. To this end I described the steps by which the Clergy ascended to the Papal height: For as all Protestants justly maintain that their Corruption of Doctrine & Worship came not in at once but by slow degrees, so do they also of the Papal Government and discipline. And they commonly shew the vanity of the Papists demand, who ask us who was the man, and which was the year, as if the world had gone to bed in simple Christianity, and awaked Papists the next morning. Whereas it is most evident in all Church history that the Clergy leaving the Christian Purity, Simplicity and Love, did climb the ladder step by step till they ascended to the Papal height. And it's a meer dream of them that think it was the Bp. of *Rome* alone that thus ascended, and not the Army that made him their General: As the boat riseth with the waters, so did the Pope with the ascending Clergy: Others strove for superiority as he strove for Supremacy: The strife began among Christs Apostles who should be greatest, and who should, sit next him in his Kingdom; And though Christ then suppress it by his Word and Spirit, and the sufferings of the Church took down those aspiring thoughts, as soon as *Constantine* had set them the
Ladder

Ladder, what scrambling was there who should climb highest. Yea *Constantinople* strove for the Supremacy it self.

§ 3. And I the rather mentioned this because I found some late learned Expositors of the Revelations, taking this inordinate ascent, for the promised glory and felicity of the Church on Earth; and taking it for the fulfilling of many of those prophecies and promises which some applyed to the Millennium, and some to the heavenly state. And doubtless *Hildebrand* and his adherents had such thoughts, and did believe that their rule over Emperours, Kings and Kingdoms, by the Power of the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven, was the true Glory of the Church, and the Reign of Christ, and that all the honour was indeed given to Christ as King of the Church, which was thus given to the Pope and the Church-Parliaments of Bishops. *Campanella de Regno Dei* doth but speak the thoughts of greater Clergy men when he applyeth the foresaid Texts to prove that the Popes Universal Monarchy is the true Kingdom of Christ on Earth, to which all Monarchs and Men must stoop.

And Nature is so apt to entertain such thoughts, especially in the Clergy, who think of it as their own prosperity and glory, that it is no wonder, if as *Venner*, and his Fifth Monarchy men, did itch to be getting up under the name of the Reign of Christ, and so did *John* of *Leyden* and his Company at *Munster*; so the Fifth Monarchy Clergy men, who can aspire more plausibly, do long to be climbing, and are very reconcilable to Papal Greatness; and where Popery is become a distasted name, they nevertheless desire their share in the Power, Honour and Wealth, and under pretence of Peace and Concord among all Christians, and restoring the Church to its Unity and Strength, they strive for much of the same thing, and think it enough to avoid the name: And the Pope shall be but *Principium Unitatis*, and the President of the Clergy or Councils. Get but the poor trick of calling nothing Popery but the Pope's Arbitrary absolute Power, and do but tie him to Rule by the Consent and Laws of Church-Parliaments, that is, set up the *French* Church-Government, and then they are no Papists. Do not the *French* Protestants deserve all their sufferings then for calling the Church or Bishops there *Papists*, and separating from so Excellent a Government?

§ 5. And it was not the least of my Motives to try, were it possible to cure their Love-killing Errour, who think that all

are Enemies to Unity and Peace, who are not for Obedience to this Universal or Superlative Prelacy, and to save us all from that confusion and calamity, which this Opinion is carrying on, while the Patrons of it think that all are to be prosecuted, silenced, ruined as Rebellious Enemies to the Ruling Church, who do not subject themselves to such a Prelacy; and that we must or can have no Christian Church-Concord, but by Obedience to the Universal Church, as Bishop *Gunning* hath over and over told me, that is, to the Universal Colledge of their sort of Bishops: Yea not only the Papists, but these Bishops among us, to this purpose repeat and apply *Psal. 72. 11.* Yea all Kings shall fall down before him: All Nations shall serve him. Or *Isa. 60. 12.* *For the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: Yea those Nations shall be utterly wasted,*] which Bishop *Gunning* applyeth to the Episcopal Universal-Governing Colledge.

These are terrible threatnings, as they shew the principles and purposes of men, however they mistake the mind of God. Few parts of *Europe* have had more long and cruel Wars, than *Italy* it self, where these Principles have obtained: But the blood of thousands of sincere Christians hath been a Sacrifice to these Principles in the Clergy. When we read in Jesuites, Fryers, and Prelates, sound Christians called Hereticks, and all such Hereticks called, mortal, odious, wicked, pernicious, intollerable Enemies to the Church, whom all good men are bound to endeavour to root out and destroy; when we hear our neighbour Papists say, *It is no more sin to kill an Heretick than a Dog:* And when we hear and read our Clergy calling out to Magistrates for yet more *Execution upon us*, for not obeying them against that which we undoubtedly take for the Law of God; and the nearer any man is to the Papists, usually the more he is for our destruction, and for their way of cruelty, I thought it time to try if it were possible, if not to save the Land from this consuming fire, yet at least to save some Souls who else were like to be tempted to malignant Enmity to the best and truest Christians, and to perish for ever by this deceit.

How many honest passages are in Mr. *Thorndike* which shew that it was not any worldly interest of his own that moved him; but yet the Power of this Errour [*Of a Church that was Universally One by One Ruling Colledge or Council of Prelates, of which*

which the Pope was the rightful President, &c.] which must be acknowledged by all Nations and Persons, that will have Christian Communion and not be condemned Schismatics, prevailed with him to the exclusion of all Dissenters, and confining his Communion to those only who owned and obeyed *This Universal Governing Church.*

§ 6. And as long as this Opinion prevaieth, especially in men of Power and Reverence who take other mens belief and obedience for their unquestionable right, where can we think hatred and Persecution will stop. Will not they still think that they that kill or silence or imprison or banish us, do God service, and that the Magistrate that doth not punish us deserveth punishment from God, if not also from the Church. And they that are most for Seldom preaching, and can dispense with our Ministerial labour therein, will not be indifferent as to the silencing, imprisoning or destroying us.

§ 7. Whether we have any reason to refuse swearing or subscribing to them, and never to endeavour any alteration of their Government as it is in *England*, I have sincerely endeavoured to shew in my Treatise of Episcopacy. And if Christian Concord and Communion be so hard and narrow a thing, as that no men are Capable of it who are not of a higher form than I, as to understanding, impartiality and willingness to know the Truth, the Church and Christianity are things beyond my capacity and reach: But I doubt not but it is humane error that would dwindle it into so small a Sect.

§ 8. Alas what Persons for Knowledge and Life can they bear with in their Communion, who cannot bear with such as they silence and ruine in this Land! And the Papists can receive even those that know not Christ if they do but profess obedience to the Clergy-Church. *Luthers* words are harsh, but I will recite them *de Conciliis* Part 3. Pag 291. *Si monstraverint mihi unum aliquem ex tota illa multitudine qui possit æquare unum alphabetarium in aliqua erudita Schola, aut in summa doctrina Christiana, vel in Scriptura Sacra tantum profecerint, quantum una aliqua puella septem annorum; tunc illis concedam palam-- nisi quod plus callent traditionum humanarum, & Sycophantiarum: Quod valde credo, & firmitus quam in Deum credo, cum me convincant facto ipso ut credam.* To this pass did the Clergies aspiring then bring the Church, when worthy men were silenced and persecuted.

secuted. And we are unwilling of any thing that looketh towards a differencing men so contrary to that which Christ will make at last.

CH A P. II.

Whether we have any reason to report the Faults of some Bishops and Councils, from the beginning of their Depravation till the last?

§ 1. **T**Hat I had great reason for it, I think what is before said will evince; when we see men destroying Christian Love, themselves, and us, and the Land, could they prevail, by their erroneous endeavour to grant no Concord, Communion nor Peace, to no Christians how conscionable otherwise soever, who cannot unite in a species of Prelacy which they believe (by such evidence as I have given) to be contrary to the Law of Christ. To the saving men from Heresie and Schism now, our opposers (and we) do judge it useful, to know how Hereticks and Dividers miscarried heretofore, that others may beware. And is it not as true if Bishops be the Dividers? And also when the Clergies Ambition and Usurpation have brought that upon the Christian World which it languisheth and groaneth under in East and West, is it not needful to open the beginning and progress of the disease, by such as had rather it were cured, than the Church destroyed by it?

§ 2. Among the multitude of Protestant Church-Historians and Chronologers, how few are there that do not do the same, though in various degrees? He that will read the *Magdeburgenses*, or *Lucas Osiander*, *Illyrici Test. Verit.* *Melancthon* himself, and *Carion Funccius*, yea peaceable holy *Bucholtzer*, *Micrelins*, *Neander*, *Phil. Pareus*, *Hen. Gutberleth*, &c. yea or *Julius* or *Jos. Scaliger*, *Salmasius*, *Hottoman*, *Hottinger*, *Morney*, shall see the faults of Bishops opened before this day.

§ 3. The pious and moderate Papists themselves report and lament them: Such as *Clemangis*, *Pelagius Alvarus*, *Mirandula*, *Ferrus*, *Jos. Acofta*, *Lud. Vives*, *Gerson*, *Erasmus*, and many other such.

§ 4. The antient Godly Bishops are they who for the most part

part have been freest in reprehending the vices of the rest; especially *Greg. Nazianzen*, and *Chrysostom*, and many antient godly Presbyters have been as free, as *Gildas*, *Isidore Pelusiota*, *Salvian*, *Sulp. Severus*, *Bernard*.

§ 5. And if I have wronged the Bishops or Popes in this Abridgment, their own Historians, yea their chief flatterers have wronged them. One Pope angered *Platina* by imprisoning him: Yet if he be partial, it is for the Clergy, and not against them. But who will believe that *Binnius*, *Baronius*, *Crab*, *Genebrard*, *Bellarmino*, *Petavius*, and such others have spoken too hardly of them. There is no one man that I took so much from as *Binnius*: And what should move him to name so many of the miscarriages of the Councils, but the necessity of reciting the Acts of the Councils historically as he found them?

§ 6. The Sacred Scriptures record the Crimes of the best men in all the Ages of which they write, even *Adams*, *Noes*, *Lots*, *Aarons*, *David*, *Solomons*, *Hezekiahs*, *Josiahs*, *Peters*, all the Apostles, &c. And it was not done out of spite or malice; but as a necessary warning to us all.

§ 7. The falshood of History is an intollerable abuse of mankind: To know nothing done before our times, is to shut up mankind in a dungeon; and false History is worse than none. And it may be false and deceitful in defect as well as excess. He that should record all that was good in the Popes, and omit all the rest, would be a dangerous deceiver of the world, and do more than hath been done to make all Christians Papists. You tell us your selves, that he that should write the History of *Cromwell*, e. g. or of any Sect that you are against, and should leave out all their faults, would be taken for a false Historian.

§ 8. They that write the History of mens Lives, do use to record their Parentage, Birth and Education: And so must he that will truly write the History of Church-Tyranny, Persecution and Schism. The end is not well understood without the beginning. Who is it that heareth how many Ages the Christian world hath been divided into *Papists*, *Greeks*, *Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, *Melchites*, &c. and that seeth what work the Papacy hath made, but will ask how all this came to pass? Did the man that died of Gluttony, swallow all at one morsel? or rather one bit after another? And when the Clergy have ventured on one merry Cup, or one pleasant morsel in excess, it's easie

ease to make them believe that one, and one, and one Cup more; one, and one, and one bit more, is no more unlawful than the first. *Principiis obsta*, is the Rule of Safety.

If Papists intending the recovery of *England* to the Pope should say [“ *Let us but first get them under the Oaths, Covenants and Practices which we will call Conformity, and so cast out most that dare not sin, and by this engage them as two Armies in contrary Interest to fight against each other, and it will be an ease matter to bring the swallowing Party to go further by degrees, and to believe that as a Parish Church must not be independent as to the Diocesan, nor the Diocesan to the Metropolitcal or National, so neither must a National be independent as to the Universal: And that the Universal therefore must have its known stated Government as well as the National,*] Were it not necessary here for him that would save the Land from Popery to shew the danger of the first degrees.

The usual Method is not to use *Boccalines Roman Engine*, which will help a man to swallow a Pompion that he may get down a Pill, but to swallow a lesser Pill first and a bigger next, till the Pompion will go down. Infancy is before manhood.

§ 9. But the great necessity was as aforesaid, from the revived or rather Continued attempts, of imitating the fatal *ambitious* and *Contentious* malady. If *Priscillians*, or *Gnosticks* should rise now among us, were it not our duty to set before them the history of the miscarriage of their predecessors. And when men are so much set on restoring an Universal Supremacy, is it not meet to shew them where, and when, and with what success the aspiring humour did begin. If we have small visible probability of escaping, we must yet before we come to *Smithfield*, satisfy our Consciences that we betrayed not the Church.

CHAP. III.

Of Mr. M's notice that I am Unlearned.

§ 1. **M**R. M's Preface Contracteth the Chief things which he hath to say against me in his book, that the Reader may find them there all together. And of these [*that I am unlearned*] is not the least. And if that be any of his question I assure him it shall be none of mine. I am not yet so vain as
to

to plead for my Learning: Yea, I will gratify him (though he accuse me of being against repentance) with an unfeigned confession that my ignorance is far greater than his accusation of *unlearnedness* doth import. Alas I want the knowledge of far more excellent things than languages. I do but imperfectly know my self, my own soul, my own thoughts and understanding: I scarce well know what knowing is. Verily if no knowledge be properly true that is not adequate to the object I *know nothing*: And subscribe to *Zanchez, quod nihil Scitur*, (by such as I.) Alas Sir I groan in darkness from day to day, & I know not how to be delivered! How little do I know of that God whom the whole Creation preacheth, and of that Society which I hope to be joyned with for ever, and that world which must be my hope and portion, or I am undone. Many whom I am Constrained to dissent from upbraid me with my ignorance, and I suppose it is that for which they silence me, reproach, hate and prosecute me; even because I have not knowledge enough to discern that all their impositions are lawful (or else I know not what it is for) But none of them all can (and will) tell me, how I should be delivered from this ignorance: If they say, [*It must be by hard study*] I can study no harder than I have done. If they say [*I must be willing to know the truth*] I take my self for sure that I am so: If in that also I am ignorant, in thinking that I know my own mind when I do not, what else then can I hope to know? If they say [*You must be impartial*] I think I am so, saving that I must not deny or cast away the truths already received. If they say [*You should read the same books which have convinced us*] I read far more of the Papists and *Prelatists* and other sects that write against me, than of those that are for me. And the more I read the more I am confirmed. And when these men preach and write against the *Calvinists*, they render them odious as holding that *men are necessitated to sin and to be damned*, and that it is long of *Gods Decree which cannot be resisted*: Therefore I suppose they will not lay the Cause on God. I do then confess my Ignorance, of matters a thousandfold greater and more needful than those which they mention in their accusations. I confess my self unlearned: But I intreat them that tell me of my disease (which I know to my daily grief much better than they) to tell me also how I may be cured. If they say that it must be by *Fines and Imprisonment* it hath been tryed & I am yet uncured: I hope they will

will not pronounce me remediless and not tell me why, who use themselves to speak against those that preach men into desperation; would they but tell me the secret how so many thousands of them came to be so much wiser than I, in far shorter time, and with far less study, it would be (if true) an acceptable deed of Charity; rather than to tell me of the Ignorance which I cannot help. Could I but know needful truth in English, I would joyfully allow them to glory of being more skilful in all the Oriental Tongues, and also in *French, Irish, Spanish and Italian*, than I am.

CHAP. IV.

Of his Accusation, that I vainly name Historians which I never saw or read.

§ 1. **I** Must profess that it never was my purpose to tell the world how many Historians I have read; nor to abridge all that I have read: And those that I have most read I have there made no mention of, as not being for my intended end: And multitudes that stood by me, I never opened to the writing of this history, my design being chiefly against the Papists and those Protestants who most esteem their writings, and had rather unite with the French Papist Church, than with us Nonconformists: Therefore when I was past the first 400 or 500 years, it was the greatest and most flattering Popish historians that I abridged, as *ad hominem* being likest not to be denied.

I told the reader that I made not use of *Luther the Magdeburgenses*, nor the Collections of *Goldastus, Marquardus Freherus, Reuberus, Pistorius, &c.* And the Printer having put a Comma between *Marquardus* and *Freherus*, he Conjectures that I took him for two men, because I added not the Christian names of the rest: And he concludes that [*whoever this mistake belongs to, it's plain that Mr. B. had but little acquaintance with those Collections.*] For I name some of the Authors therein.

Ans. Seeing these things are thought just matter for our accusers turn, I will crave the Readers patience with such little things while I tell him the truth. It is about 25 years since I read the *German History* in the Collections of *Freherus, Reuberus* and *Pistorius*, and about 30 years since I read the Collections of

of *Goldastus*: The *Magdelurgenses*, *Osiander*, *Sleidan*, or any such Protestants I thought vain to alledge to Papists. About seven or eight years ago as I remember, I was accused for Preaching, and Fined by Sir *Thomas Davis*; and the Warrant was sent by him to Sir *Edm. Bury Godfrey* to levy it on me by Distress: I had no way to avoid it but *bona fide*, to make away all that I had: Among the rest I made away my Library, only borrowing part of it for my use. I purposed to have given it almost all to *Cambridge in New-England*: But Mr. *Knowles* (yet living) who knew their Library, told me that Sir *Kenelme Digby* had already given them the Fathers, Councils and Schoolmen, but it was History and Commentators which they wanted. Whereupon I sent them some of my Commentators, and some Historians among which were *Freherus*, *Reuberus* and *Pistorius* Collections, and *Naclerus*, *Sabellicus*, *Thuanus*, *Jos. Scaliger de Emendat. Temp.* &c; But *Goldastus* I kept by me (as borrowed) and many more which I could not spare; and the Fathers and Councils and Schoolmen I was stopt from sending. Now whether I was unacquainted with those that partly stand yet at my Elbow, and which I had read so long ago, must depend on the Credit of my Memory; and I confess my Memory is of late grown weak, but not so weak as to think that *Marquardus Freherus* was not one man, and a Palatinate Councillor, though it be names that I most forget; why I gave not the Christen names of *Reuberus* and *Pistorius*, whether because I forgot them, or because I minded not so small a thing, not dreaming what would be inferred from it, I remember not. But when I wrote that abridgment, I made use of none that I thought the Papists would except against: For the first ages I gathered what I remembered out of the Fathers, and out of *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Evagrius*, *Theodoret*, the *Tripartite*, *Nicephorus*, *Liberatus*, *Brev. Victor* *Utic.* *Beda*, and such others as are by them received: Besides which I principally followed and Epitomized *Binnius*, and *Crab*, and partly *Baronius*, with *Platina*, *Ouzpurius Panunius*, *Stella*, *Petavius*, and others of their own. And I resolved I would not so much as open *Goldastus*, or any Protestant Collector, that they might not except against their Credit, and reject them as malicious cursed Hereticks, as *Labbe* doth *Melchior Goldastus* and almost all such others as he mentions; and as *Gretser*, *Sanders*, and other Papists commonly do. Therefore even those Histories which

be in *Goldastus*, I would not take as out of him, but some of them from the books published by others, and some as cited by *Binnius*, *Petavius*, or other such. And this is now the proof of my Vanity.

§ 2. It is a mistake if he think that I intended (as he speaks) to be a *Compiler of General Church History*; When I professed but to acquaint the English Reader with the true matter of fact out of the Papists themselves, what the ambitious part of Bishops and Councils have done, and by what degrees the Papacy sprang up, and whether subjection to the ascendent exort Prelacy be absolutely necessary to Concord and Salvation.

§ 3. As to his saying [*I am the first that ever reckoned Nazianzen among Historians*,] I take the writings of the Fathers, especially *Justin*, *Clemens Alex.* *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, *Hierom*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustin*, to be the best part of Church History, especially their Epistles. And of this opinion I am not the first.

CHAP. V.

Of his Accusation of my citing Hanmer and other Translators, and being deceived by Binnius and such others.

§ 1. **H**E accuseth me for not using *Valesius* his Edition of *Eusebius* and those Editions of the Councils which he accounteth the best: To which I say,

1. I am not Rich Enough to buy them, nor can keep them if I had them. Must none write but Rich men? The French Councils would cost more than many of us are worth: We have had no Ecclesiastical maintenance these 19 years; and we cannot keep the books we have. *Luther* wrote his book *de Conciliis* when it seems he had never read many of the Councils Acts, but as related by *Eusebius* *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and the *Tripartite History*.

2. *Dr. James* hath long ago warned all Scholars to make much of *Crab* and other old ones, (and the Fathers as Printed at *Basil* by *Erasmus*, *Amerbachius*, &c.) and not to trust much to new Editions, as coming through untrusty hands.

3. Is *Valesius* a man of so much credit with you? Do you believe what he saith of *Grotius* as being in judgment for the Papal Church, and only in prudence delaying his visible Communion with them, that he might draw in many with him? (*Vales.* in *Orat. de Petavio*:) If he lye in this, and the success of *Petavius* on *Grotius*, why should he be more trusted than others? If not, I need not tell you what to think of those Bishops and Drs. who profess to be of the same mind and Church as *Grotius*; nor again to tell you who they be.

4. My design led me not to make use of Criticks, but only to tell the world, what the Papists themselves confess, such as I have throughout cited.

§ 2. As for my using *Hammers* Translation of *Eusebius* and *Socrates*, my case was as before described: *Valesius* I had not: *Grineus* I made use of heretofore. But since I was by constraint deprived both of my books and money to buy more, when I wrote that Abridgment, I had only *Hammers* Translation left me. And if that sort of men that forced me to give away my books, to keep them from being distreined on, will make use of this to prove me ignorant of them, the matter is very small to me.

If you say, I should not then have written, I answer, could they so have silenced us in the Pulpit, they had more answered their own judgment than mine. I had no use for Criticks, nor for any thing in *Eusebius* and *Socrates* that depends on the credit of the Translator.

§ 3. As to his oft noting that in Translations, and sometime in Chronology I err by following *Binnius*, I answer, had I written a full Church History, I should better have examined him and others. But I lay no stress of my cause of any of *Binnius* his Translations, nor will I undertake for any Historian that I cite: My business was but to tell those that believe *Binnius* and *Baronius*, and such other, what they say. Nor do I yet intend to bestow any time, in examining whether he wrong *Binnius* or not, it being nothing to my cause nor me, whether he mistook a year, or the meaning of a word of the Authors whom he citeth.

§ 4. He saith I use an old uncorrect Edition of *Binnius* 1606. *Ans.* It is that which is in most common use, entituled, *Recognita, Aucta, notis Illustrata*, dedicated to the Pope, and to C. *Baronius*, *jus monitus scripta, qui veterem illam, mendosam, mutilam & confusam compilationem mille locis illustravit, &c.* commonly

Preferred before *Crab, Surius, Nicolinus, &c.* But any quarrel serveth some men.

CHAP. VI.

Of his Accusations of my own Mistranslations and Mistakes.

§ 1. **O**F these there are two real Oversights which he nameth, committed by too much hast and heedlessness: The one is, that I misplaced [*Vere*] in the Translation of a Speech of *Theodorets*; a gross oversight I confess: The other, that I put [*Episcopi*] as if it had been the Genitive case, when it was the Nominative plural; which also was a heedless oversight. And about the death of *Stephanus*, he noteth my mistranslating *Calami*; and I imagine yet he is scarce certain what it signified himself. As for his note of my use of [*Scripture*] about the *Ephesine* Council, I purposely kept to the literal Translation, that none might say I did mistranslate it; but I never said that by the *Scriptures* was meant the Bible.

§ 2. This Accuser puts too great an honour on such a History as mine, which goeth through so many Ages and Acts, in noting so few, and such little things. I never pretended to be as good an Historian as he is; yet I do not think that it was any thing but a slip of memory that made him put *Eustathius* instead of *Flavian*, as kickt to death at *Ephesus*. And methinks he that thus begins his *Errata* of his own Book [*The faults that have escaped are almost infinite*:] should not for one false Comma of the Printers, have passed the foresaid censure of me.

But doth not this Learned Historian know, how ordinarily the greatest of them do charge one another with manifold Errours, and of far greater moment than these forementioned. How few Historians do not this? Yea what bitter censures doth he pass himself on no lower Historians than *Socrates* and *Sozomen*? It would be tedious to give you the Instances that every such Book affordeth. I see he valueth *Labbe* the Jesuite. How oft doth he accuse Historians of Errour, Ignorance, Malice, &c. e. g. *de Anastasio Biblioth.* so eminent a Writer of the Popes Lives, yet [*Errat Vossius & siqui alii cum Anastasio Presbytero, &c.*] And even

even of that famous History of the Popes, [Onuphrius Panu-
nius, Gerh. Vossius, & plerique alii ultimam censent esse ab Ana-
stasio scriptam, Nicolai I. Papæ Vitam, & a Gulielmo S.R.E. Bib-
liothecario additas fuisse Hadr. 2. & Steph. 6. P. Vitas : Verum
Cardinalis Baronius iis refragatur eidemque auctori omnes illas
ascribit ; sunt quoque qui a Damaso Papa, &c.] Here the greatest
Historians differ about one of the most noted Histories.

Of Augustin's Works (To. 1. p. 129.) he tells you that Bellar-
mine tells us not what Edition he used : But it's certain he used
not the Antwerp, or Plantinian Edition, which was the best, and
the Original of all the rest.]

P. 132. Rivet and Perkins are derided for disowning some
Epistles.

P. 135. Erasmi, Riveti similiumque videtur a doctis censura
(viz. de lib. Continent.) And I profess my self less skilful in such
matters than Erasmus.

Et ibid. Erasmus & Hofius Juliano opus illud tribuere videntur,
Pamelius tanquam incerti Authoris allegat : Nos cum Lovanien-
sibus Bellarmino, aliisque Catholicis Augustini esse censemus, nec
trica Riveti deterrent.

P. 136. Quæst. Vet. & Novi Test. non sunt Augustini ut facile
omnes consentiunt : Quamvis sub ejus nomine citata reperiantur ab
Episcopis Lutetiae Paris. An. 824. Congregatis & quibusdam aliis.

Of Ausonius the Poet, p. 171. he saith, [Quam falsa sint quæ
de eo scripserit Jo. Trithemius quivis vel ex ipsa lectione intelliget.

Of Mantuan, p. 173. [Ex Trithemii encomio hæc dubio procul
omni oblitteranda : [Qui metro Virgilium, Ciceronem prosa æquat,
ne dicam superat :] Sunt enim falsissima iis qui gustum aliquem la-
tinitatis habent.

Of Beda, p. 184. See what he saith of Will. Malmesbury, Mat.
Westminst. Vossius and Baronius.

Of Bæthius, p. 204. Honorius Augustod.--ubi falso narrat
Mediolani interfectum fuisse--

P. 217. Plura adversus Leunclavium, primum eorum editorem
declamavit Jac. Billius (de Casario.)

De Claudio Scoto, p. 228. Tho. Dempsterus multa pro more suo
indigesta effudit--

De Gersone, p. 565. Errat post Possevinum Maraccius qui Joan-
nunc Monachum ordinis cœlesti--asserit--Idem quoque ex Patro-
logo eradendum.

See what he saith *de Julio Africano*, that the *Annotationes eruditiss. in Euseb. Eccles. Hist.*---*Opinionem nostram in plerisque adversantur.*] I suppose he means that *Valesius* which I wanted.

And *de Justino Mart. Scaligerum errasse, &c.*] Et p. 833. (*insigne mendum ex Trithemio, Gesnero, Simlero, Sexto, Possevino, Bellarmino, Miræo, aliisque propagatum*---)

To. 2. p. 361. *Smaragdus duos in unum confuderunt, Trithemius, Sixtus Senensis, Possevinus, Bellarminus, Miræus aliique passim*---] Abundance such charges tell us how much greater Errours are charged on the greatest Historians, than Mr. Morrice chargeth on me, with the least shew of probability.

How many score of Historians doth *Blondell* cite, who he thinks have falsely told us of a Pope *Joan*?

What abundance of faults would *Causabon* have found in *Baronius*, if he had lived to go through him as he began? And I profess my self much more ignorant in History than *Baronius*.

It would be tedious to number all the gross Errours that *Vossius* citeth *de scriptor. Græcis & Latinis*; e.g. in the *Later.* p. 230. *Hos duos confudit Trithemius*---*vid. quæ habet de Flac. Alcuino*, p. 290, 291, 292. *De Usuardo*, p. 295. *cont. Gualterium & Baronium, Wicelium*, p. 296. & cap. 32. *de Turpino contra Trithemium & alios. Et cap. 33. de Walaf. Strab. Tritthenius vehementer errat*---*Et Laur. Surium Bellarmin. in Catal. & alios nonnullos in errorem induxit.*

Vid. & quæ de Aimoino, p. 308, 309. *habet, & contra Possevinum*, p. 310. & *contra alios*, 311. *Et contra Baronium, Breuilium. &c.* 312. *Et de Haimone cap. 35. contra Tritthenium, & de Rabano Mauro*, p. 315. *Et de Landulph. Sagace contra Cas. Orlandium. De Anastas. c. 35. p. 319. De Hincmaro contra Tritthenium*, c. 36. p. 320. But I must not tire the Reader: Multitudes of such Instances this one Author gives us: And how few Historians charge not others with Errours so much greater, and more than Mr. M. with any Truth accuseth me of.

§ 3. As to his notes on my Titles of some Councils, it's past my memory, whether it was my carelessness, or (as I think) the Printer's Errour, to put [a Council at *Aranfican, Toletan, Regiense*, for *Concilium Aranficanum, Toletanum, Rhegiense.*] If it was my act, I forgot that I had first put the Substantive in English. But he may oft find the same names used to his mind: And sure it is no falsification of the History.

§ 4. But

§ 4. But he hath a far greater charge against me, that *I did not apprehend the mind of the Council at Tours*; why so? The words are [*Nos vero siquos Lex perimi jubet, si capiunt audire praconem, volumus ut convertantur ad vitam: Nam perimendi sunt oris gladio & communione privandi si relictæ sibi seniorum decreta observare noluerint, &c.*] Here he saith the meaning is, [The Ecclesiastical Laws do punish such with perpetual Excommunications, yet this Council thought fit to mitigate it, &c.] The Question is, Whether [*Quos Lex perimi jubet*, signifie Death, or Excommunication?] I take it to be Death, and that the Council saith [Though by the Law such are to Die, if they will hear the Preacher, we will have them converted to Life: But so that if they will not be separated, the Church Sword of Excommunication shall cut them off instead of Death.] My Reasons why [*Lex perimi jubet*] signifieth Death, are from the express foregoing words, [*Quia etiam Lex Romana constituit, ut quicumque sacratam Deo Virginem vel Viduam fortasse rapuerit, si postea eis de conjunctione convenerit, capitis sententia feriantur. Item si quis, non dicam rapere, sed attentare matrimonii conjungendi causa, sacram Virginem ausus fuerit, capitis sententia feriat. Cum etiam in Chronicis habeatur de Virginibus Gentilium tempore, quæ se deæ Vestæ sacraverant, postmisso proposito & corrupta virginali gratia, Legali sententia vivas in terra fuisse desossas.*] If none of this signifie Death, I confess I understand not Latine. I thought the Council meant Death by [*Lex perimi jubet*,] but they would be more merciful; which I blamed them not for, but noted here what many other Canons instance, where they also punish murder but with keeping men from Communion, that this agreeth with some Sectaries Opinion. I leave Mr. M's. great skill in expounding Councils here to any equal Judge. But if I ignorantly mistake in all this, and neither [*Capitis sententia feriantur*] nor [*Vivas in terra desossas*] signifie Death, but Excommunication, yet many other Canons after cited fully tell us of the Bishops Clemency.

CHAP. VII.

Mr M's. Exposition of Church History tryed by his Exposition of my own words: And 1. Of his false supposition that I am only for a Church of one Congregation meeting in one place.

§ 1. IF so many repetitions of my Opinion cannot save Mr M. from so untrue a supposition of my self, I must not too far trust him, of the sence of those that he is as distant from as I. Yet this supposition running through all his book, shews that he wrote it against he knew not whom nor what. His foundation is because I define a single Church by *Personal present Communion*.

§ 2. I do so: And 1. Doth he think there is no such thing as Christians conjoynd for assembling in Gods ordinary worship, under the Conduct of their Proper Pastors. I will not censure him so hardly as to think he will deny it. 2. Are these Churches or not. I suppose he will say, Yea. 3. But is there no *Personal Present Communion* but in publick worship. Yes sure Neighbours who worship God in divers places, may yet live in the Knowledge and conversation of each other; and may meet for Election of Officers, and other Church busineses, and may frequently exhort, reprove and admonish each other, and relieve each other in daily wants; and many meet sometimes by turns in the same place, where they all cannot meet at once: We have great Towns, (like *Ipswich, Plymouth Shrewsbury, &c.*) which have many Parishes, and yet Neighbourhood maketh them capable of [*Personal Communion in Presence*] as distinct from [*Communion by Letters or Delegates with those that we neither see nor know.*] And we have many great Parishes which have several Chappels, where the People ordinarily meet yet *per vices* some one time and some another come to the Parish Churches. Have these no Parochial *Personal Communion*?

To the *well-being* of a Church, I confess I would not have a single Church of the lowest species have too many, nor too few: No more than whose *Personal Communion* should be frequent in Gods publick worship. Nor so few as should not fully employ more Ministers of Christ than one. But to the *Being* of a Church,
I only

I only require that the End of their Association be *Personal Communion* as distinct from distant Communion by Letters and delegates. And by [*Communion*] I mean not only the Sacrament.

§ 2. It is in vain therefore to answer a book that goeth on such false suppositions, and a man that will face down the world that I plead for that which I never owned, and so frequently disclaim.

CHAP. VIII.

Of his false supposition that I am against Diocesan Bishops, because I am against that species of them which puts down all the Bishops of single Churches, and those Churches themselves.

§ 1. **T**His supposition goeth through almost all the book: In his preface he saith [*The superiority of Bishops over Presbyters is acknowledged by Catholicks, and Schismaticks & Hereticks, &c. and yet this Church history would have us believe the Contrary.*] And so throughout.

§ 2. And yet to shew that he knew the Contrary in one place he confesseth it, and described part of my judgment, and saith that none will be of my mind in it, but it is singular to my self: Yea I had in my Disput. of Church Government, which he taketh on him in part to answer, and in my Treat. of Episcopacy which he also pretends to answer in part, told them of more sorts of Bishops than one that I oppose not, no not A. Bishops themselves: And one of them hereupon notes it as if I differed but about the name, submitting to Diocesans so they may but be called A. Bishops. To whom I answered that A. Bishops have Bishops under them, so that though I over and over even to tediousness tell them it is the *deposing of all the first or lowest Species of Bishops and Churches, and Consequently all Possibility of true Discipline that I oppose*, and submit to any that oversee many such Churches without destroying them and their privileges instituted by Christ] I speak still in vain to them: These true Historians face down the world that I write whole books to the clean contrary.

C H A P. IX.

Of his supposition that I am an Independent, and yet that I plead for the cause of the Presbyterians.

§ 1. **T**His is also a supposition that is part of the *Stamina* of his Book; and how far he is to be believed herein judge by the evidence following.

1. He knew what I said before for three sorts of Bishops, 1. *Episcopi Gregis*, Overseers of single lowest Churches, as of Divine Institution: 2. For *Episcopi Episcoporum*, or Presidents. Bishops *ejusdem Ordinis, non ejusdem Gradus*, in the same Churches, as of early Humane Institution, which I resist not. 3. *Episcopi Episcoporum*, Overseers of many Churches, which I suspect to be Successors of the Apostles, and of such as *Timothy, Titus, &c.* in the continued ordinary part of their work, (exercising no other Power than they did :) Inasmuch that Dr. *Sherlock* would be thought so much less Episcopal than I, as that he saith, *It is Antichristian to assert Episcopos Episcoporum.*

§ 2. And Dr. *Parker* hath newly written a Book for Episcopacy, which I hear many despise; but for my part I take to be the strongest that I have seen written for it these twenty years; but to no purpose against me; for it is but for Episcopacy in general, which I oppose not. It excellent well improveth the Arguments of the K. and Bishops at the Isle of *Wight*; even that one Argument that a Superiority of some over others being settled by Christ and his Apostles, that Form must be supposed to continue, unless we have clear proof of the Repeal or Cessation. I have oft said the same; I could never answer that Argument: But this will not justify the deposing of thousands of Bishops and Churches, and of their Discipline, to turn them all into two or three Diocesans.

§ 3. Also he knoweth that I have written these 35 years against Lay-Elders; believing that the Colledge of Elders which of old assisted the Bishops, were none of them Lay-men, nor unordained, but of the same Order, though not Degree, with the Bishop himself.

§ 4. And I have also written that Synods of Bishops or Presbyters are but for Concord, and have not as such by a major Vote a proper Government of the minor part or absent: Much less that Classes, and other Assemblies, are the stated Church-Government which all must obey: And are the Presbyterians of any of the three forementioned Opinions?

§ 5. I ever held a necessity of manifold dependance of all Christians and Churches. As all depend on Christ as their Head, so do all the People on the Pastors, as their authorized Guides, whom they must not Rule, but be Ruled by, *1 Thes. 5. 12, 13. Heb. 13. 17, 24.* And all these Churches depend on each other for Communion and Mutual Help, as many Corporations in one Kingdom. And frequent Synods well used, are greatly helpful to these ends: And the Command of doing as much as we can in Love and Concord, doth bind all the particular persons to concur with the Synods in all things that tend to the Peace and Edification of the Church, or are not against it. And more than so, if the general Visitors or Bishops that take care of many Churches, do by God's Word direct, instruct, reprove, admonish the particular Bishops and Churches, they ought with reverence to hear them and obey them. And if Independents really are for all this, why do these Accusers represent them odiously, as if it were no such matter, but they were merely for Church-Democracy? Either you are not to be believed in what you say of them, or of me.

§ 6. I know we have men that say, that on pretence of acknowledging all this Episcopacy, I put down all, because I take from them the power of the Sword, and leave all to despise them if they please. *Ans.* This indeed is the power that under the name of Episcopacy now too many mean. Bishop *Bilson* knew no Power but Magistrates by the Sword, and Ministers by the Word. But why name I one man? It is the common Opinion of Protestants, and most sober Papists, that Bishops as such have no power of force on Body or Purse. But we deny not the forcing Power of the Magistrate. 3. But we heartily wish that they would keep it in their own hands, and never use it to force unwilling men into the Church, or to Church Communion; high Priviledges which no unwilling person hath any right to. This is my Independency.

C H A P. X.

Of his Accusation, That I make the Bishops the Authors of all Heresies and Schisms, as distinct from Presbyters, Monks and People.

§ 1. **T**His also runs throughout his Book; and must such Books be answered or believed? I never denied the guilt and concurrence of others with them. I only say, That as Bishops were the Chief, so they had the chief hand, as far as I can yet learn, in Heresies and Schisms, since they came to their height of Power, and specially in those grand Heresies and Schisms, which have broken, and keep the Churches in those great Sects and Parties, which in East and West it consisteth of to this day. I never doubted or denied but that 1. The Heresies that were raised before the Church had any Patriarchs, or the turgent sort of Bishops, were certainly raised without them. 2. And afterward sometime a Presbyter began a Heresie. 3. And the Bishops were but as the Generals of the Army in all the Church Civil Wars. But I never denied but the Prelatical Priests, Monks, and multitude were their obsequious Army.

§ 2. Mr. *M.* saith, That those Bishops that were Hereticks, were mostly such, or inclined to it before. *Answ.* 1. Was there then a good Succession of Ordination, when the World groaned to find it self *Arian*? Were all these *Arians* before their Consecration?

Answ. 2. Were they not all Prelatical Presbyters that aspired to be Bishops, and so as they say had a Pope or Bishop in their bellies. I never thought that Prelatical Priests that studied Preferment, and longed to be Bishops, had no hand in Heresies nor Schisms, no more than that the *Roman* Clergy are innocent herein, and the fault is in the Pope alone. What a deal then of this man's Book is lost and worse, on such suppositions?

C H A P. X I.

Of his confident Accusation, that I mention all the faults of the Bishops, and none of their Goodness, or Good Deeds.

§ 1. **T**HIS also is a chief part of the *Warp* or *Stamen* of his Book. In his Preface he saith, [*"This History of Bishops is nothing else but an Account of all the faults that Bishops have committed in the several Ages of the Church, without Any Mention of their Good Actions, of their Piety and Severity of their Lives; of their Zeal for the Faith, &c."*]

Ans. 1. Whether this Fundamental Accusation be true or false, let the Reader who loveth Truth see 1. In the very first Chapt. from § 41. to the end. 2. Through all the Book where I oft praise good Bishops, good Councils, and good Canons, and good Books and Deeds. 3. In the two last Chapters of the Book, written purposely to hinder an ill use of the Bishops faults.

In the first Chapter [*"Very many of the Bishops themselves were humble, holy, faithful men, that grieved for the miscarriages of the rest: Though such excellent persons as Gregory of Neocæsarea, Greg. Nazianz. Greg. Nyssen, Basil, Chrysostom, Augustine, Hillary, Prosper, Fulgentius, &c. were not very common, no doubt but there were many that wrote not Books, nor came so much into the notice of the World, but avoided contentions and factious stirs, that quietly and honestly conducted the Flocks in the waies of Piety, Love, and Justice. And some of them (as St. Martin) separated from the Councils and Communion of the prevailing turbulent sort of the Prelates, to signifie the disowning of their sins."*]

Of the Antients before the world crowded into the Church, I never made question: Such as *Clemens, Polycarp, Ignatius, Irenæus*, and the rest.

How oft I have praised holy *Cyprian*, and the *African* Bishops and Councils, he sometime confesseth.

What I say of *Atticus, Proclus*, and other peaceable Bishops, you may see p. 17. and very oft. Yea of the Bishops of many Sects; much of the *Albigenses*, &c. p. 17, 18. Yea

Yea of the good that was done by the very worldly sort
p. 18, 19, 20. Yea of the Papists Bishops that were pious
p. 20. § 46.

And § 47. I vindicate the excellency of the Sacred Office.
And § 53, 58, 59, 60. I plead for Episcopacy it self in the justifi-
fiable species of it.

§ 2. But perhaps he will say, that at least I say more of
their faults than their virtues: I answer, of such good Bishops as
Cyprian, Basil, Greg. Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Augustin, Hillary,
Martin, &c. I speak of their virtues and nothing at all (that I
remember) of their faults. Of such as *Theophilus*, and *Cyril Alex-*
andri. and *Epiphanius, &c.* I speak of their virtues and some of
their faults (as the scripture doth of many good mens.) Of the
more ambitious, turbulent sort, I speak only or mostly of their
faults: For I profess not to write a History of their lives, but
to inform the ignorant what Spirit it is that brought in Church
tyranny and divisions. I denyed none of their virtues, though it
was not my work to record them.

While I am confuting the Errours of your book, do I wrong you
unless I write a Catalogue of your good works. *Morney, Illyri-*
cus, and many others have gathered a *Catalogue* of old witnesses
for Protestant Verities. And Bishop *Morton* hath cited multi-
tudes of Papists against their party: Have they wronged them
because they have not also cited all that the same said for the
Roman cause? I have mentioned the virtues of some of the Popes,
even of *Greg. 7.* but of many others I have only mentioned their
vices: This is not to deny any good that is in them: Nor do
you accuse your selves of any injustice when you tell the world
how bad men the Parliaments have bin, and how bad *Cromwell*
and the Armies, and how bad the Nonconformists are, and I in
particular, without naming any of their good deeds or virtues:
Because it is not your business.

CHAP. XII.

Of his Accusation that I do all in spite and malice against Bishops, and as using ill language of them.

§ 1. **A** Nsw. 1. Spite and Malice are heart sins : If the same effect may come from other Causes, how know you that these are the Cause ?

Ans. 2. Is it from Spight and Malice that Protestants commonly describe the vices of the Popes, such as *Greg. 7. Sergius, Alexandr. 3. Boniface 8. Joh. 12. and 13. & 22, & 23. & Eugen. 4. &c.* And also that they so hardly speak of the Jesuits, Yea and Papists commonly ? Sure it may come from some other cause.

Ans. 3. Is it from Spight and Malice that you recite the tumults of the German Anabaptists, the faults of those at *Munster*, the Errours of *David George*, the many Enthusiastick Sects described by *Beckman Exercit.* (of whom many as *Thaulerus, Kempis, Behmen* had much very commendable ; and *Grotius* praised *Joh. Arndt.*) Is it from Malice that the Familists, Seekers, Quakers, Anabaptists, &c. are usually by your party described by their faults, without any mention of their goodness ?

Ans. 4. Is it from Spight and Malice that your Party have written what they have done of the great faultiness of the Nonconformists, both former and latter ; and that Calvinists are so odiously represented, that the Reformation by them is described by *Heylin* and others as *Rebellious* ? That such books are written as *Heylins Aerius Redivivus, H. Fowlis, the Evangel. Armatum, The Eccles. Polit. the Friendly Debate, the Counterminer, the Vindicat. of Dr. Stillingfleet, the pretended second part,* (which is a continued Calumny against my self, so full of particular falsehoods as are not to be without a tedious Volume answered : And a multitude such written to render the Nonconformists odious and unsufferable. If all these be not written in Malice, how know you that mine were ?

Ans. 5. And whereas some pretending moderation accuse me of too bad provoking language, 1. Is there any Comparison between the language of any of these books, or yours and Dr.

Sherlock's

Sherlock's and mine? Read but Learned Godly moderate Bishop *Downam* his Defence of his Visit. sermon, his frequent charges [of shameless, impudent Lying, and much more] against a Nonconformist that gave him no such language. Read but the ordinary Writings of such as Bishop *Bancroft*, Dr. *Sutcliff*, and most others against the Old Nonconformists; and of the *Lutherans* against the *Calvinists*, even men that I am persuaded meant honestly, but by Faction were exasperated, as *Hunnius*, *Brentius*, *Morlinus*, *Marbackius*, *Snepsius*, *Wigandus*, *Heshusius*, *Andreas*, *Selnecerus*, *Heerbrand*, *Calovius*, and many such. Read but our Grammarians, such as you may find in the many Volumes of the Collections of *Janus Gruterus*, even those of *Cramer*, and *Phil. Pareus*, and others against himself; where *Fools*, *Knaves*, *Lyars*, *Sots*, and worse, make up much of the style.

Read but our Old Grammarian Reformers against the Popish Priests, and Schoolmen, I mean *Erasmus*, *Hutten*, *Faber*, and the rest, what Scorns their Writings do abound with.

I will not refer you to the Queen of *Navarre*, and *Stephanus* his *World of Wonders*, against the Priests, lest you think I approve of the excess.

Yea read but the Writings of our famous Learned Criticks, *Jul. and Joseph Scaliger*, *Heinsius*, *Salmasius*, &c. from whom the railing Jesuite *Labbe* took advantage to say, *Tom. I. p. 820.* [*“Ri-
“veto praeiverat Josephus Scaliger, homo utique modestissimus,
“qui Editores S. Irenaei vocat, clamorosos, maledicentissimos.
“Cercopas, Tartareos, Pyriphlegethontas, virulentia & probrorum
“concionatores, & editionem coloniensem, cloacam Sycophantiarum,
“latrinam convitiarum, & stabulum inscitiae.”*] Through God's great mercy, while *Malignity* is the Complexion of the Serpent's Seed, and *Lying* is their Breath, and *Murder* is their Work, the names of all these sins are odious in the world, and guilt is impatient, and cannot endure its own name.

Should I but mention the Language of Papists, how they represent the holiest Protestants as Lyars, Deceivers, Devils, intolerable, whom it is as lawful to kill as Dogs, Foxes or Toads, it would concern none but those of you that use to say, I had rather be a Papist than a Puritane, or Presbyterian; or those that renounce Communion with us, and own it with the Church of *Rome*; who are, alas, too many. Such Language as *Labbe's*, *Vol. I. p. 819.* is of the sweeter sort, viz. *“Quisquis es salutis
“tuae*

*“tue amans, Omnes illico Calvinistas, Lutheranos, Socinianos
 “Anabaptistas, similesque generis humani pestes, Cacodemonum
 “instar execrabere.* This is but what we daily hear: But while we hear it in a Language so very like from the Papists, and the Pulpits and Press, and *Roger Le Strange* is become the Church's Advocate and Mouth, it will harden them that did ill joyn together *Popery* and *Prelacy* in their rejections.

Honest *Thuanus* is amiable and honourable for Speaking well of all that deserved it, without partiality: But *Gerh. Vossius* is put to defend his Father-in-law *Junius* against his unjust censure. Indeed *Junius* was a man of Eminent peaceableness and moderation, (I would *Arminius* and he had been the utmost prosecutors of that Controversie, notwithstanding Dr. *Twisses* undervaluing his skill in School Divinity) And few men were more unlike *Thuanus* his ill Character than *Junius*: But Dr *Manton* hath told me that he hath been fully informed that it was not *Junius* that *Thuanus* meant but another that dyed that year (which *Junius* did not) and that by some ill chance a wrong name was put in Contrary to *Thuanus* intent.

§ 2. Dr. *Burnet* is a man whom I much value and honour, and pleadeth much for peace and moderation, and therefore much the more amiable to me: I thank him for his reproof of me to my face; but because he goeth on to vend it as just behind my back, where I cannot answer him, I must do it here. He saith that [*I began and that with unchristian, provoking language against the Conformists in my first Plea for peace, which caused all the succeeding heats.*]

Ans. 1. I have to him and oft in print appealed to humanity and common sense whether one that was seventeen years silent, & communicated in the Parish Churches, and under scorns, and ejection, imprisonment & mulcts did peaceably continue Communion with them without reply or self defence, and never wrote against them, till they had long called out to him to give them an account of the reasons of his Nonconformity, and then durst not provoke them by a dispute, but barely named the matters which we judge unlawful, professing not to be the Accuser of Conformists, but only to answer the Call of Parliament-men, Bishops, and others that urged us, and threatned us if we would not tell them what we stuck at; and made this the Justification of their prosecution of many hundred men: I say, whether such a

man had a Call to speak? When the King Licensed us, I had before briefly defended our Preaching as Licensed: But being thus summoned by our Prosecutors and Superiours, I told them what we judged unlawful; and was this a beginning of the Flame? Was Seventeen years Poverty, Prohibition and Prosecution, and all this Importunity, no provocation or call to speak? Did this begin? If he were in the House of Correction, and were beaten but Seventeen years, or Seven years, to confess the Cause for which he suffered, and at last confessed it, and one should say, This was the beginning of the strife, Would he take this for a good Historian? And if he had written History, would this report advance the credit of it?

§ 3. But the second thing accused, is the unchristian Language of that Book. *Ans.* Doth a general Accusation signifie more ill of the accuser, or of the accused, if it be not proved by particular Instances? I urged him to name the unchristian words, and I remember but two Instances he gave me.

The first is, that I use the word [*untruths*] against my Accusers. And 1. I think the Reader will very rarely find that word in that Book. 2. Is this so harsh as the common charge of *Lying*, used even by the most Learned sober Conformists? 3. I thought it had been a modest word: What shall a man say when such Volumes of Slander are published against him and others, as tends to preach all their Neighbours into hatred and persecution of them? Alas! Doth it increase our crime to say, It is *untrue*? How shall we then answer for our selves at any Bar? Is it tollerable voluminously to tell the World down-right falshoods of us? and is it railing for us to say, [*They are untrue*?] What's this but like him that run a man thorow in wrath with his Sword, and indicted him for crying, oh? This is the Church Justice even of our moderate Historians.

§ 4. But he saith, I should not call it [*a falshood, or untruth*] but a *mistake*. *Ans.* This is a sharper word; for it signifieth the fault of the mistaker usually; whereas by speaking *de objecto*, that it is *false*, I leave it to others how far the reporter is to be blamed. But sure most Logical Disputations are Railings, if the words [*falsum*] and [*fallacia*] be such.

§ 5. About a month or six weeks ago the Observator, the Churches Advocate published, That [*"a Captain of Horse of the King's, had the fortune to be dismounted, wounded and*
"stript,

“stript, and a Chaplain (naming me before) cut from about his
 “neck a Medal, which the King had given him, and the Soul-
 “diers spared in the heat of blood] I sent him word how false
 this was: I never saw the man in my life that I know of; much
 less ever medled with him: But was in a House where a Soul-
 dier brought a small silver-guilt Medal, about the bigness of a big
 Shilling, and said, he took it from about the neck of one Captain
Jennings, whose Life he spared: He offered it to sale, and no
 one offering him more, I gave him eighteen pence for it in 1643.
 as I remember: And about 1648. hearing where Captain *Jen-
 nings* was, supposing it might be of great use to him, I sent it
 him as a gift by one Mr. *Sommerfield*.] And this slander is all
 the thanks I had. The Church-Advocate wrote me back, that
 he had it formally attested. I craved as a favour of him to
 tell me if Captain *Jennings* be living, how I might write to him.
 He answers me, that one was out of the way that he must first
 speak with, and I should shortly hear from him. The next I
 heard was as a second part of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, the foresaid
 Book full of cruel falshood, taken from my having been for the
 Parliament, and from many distorted words of mine: Now
 when this Book renders me worse than a Jew, or Heathen, and
 unfit to live, some I fear will tell abroad that I am a Traitor,
 for saying, that [*It is slanderous or untrue.*]

§ 6. His second Instance was these words of mine [*“Pardon
 “me for saying, I think that Mr. Tombs hath said more like truth
 “for Anabaptistry, the late Hungarian for Polygamy, many for
 “Drunkenness, Stealing, and Lying, in cases of Necessity, than ever
 “I yet read for the Lawfulness of all that I have here described.*]

Answ. 1. Is there any Railing or unchristian Language in these
 words? which be they?

Answ. 2. Do I here speak of any but my self and the Non-
 conformists? Do I not protest against accusing others, and only
 say, what it would be to me, should I conform? And must I
 not, when importuned by Bishops, Priests and Rulers, say what
 I fear, lest others should think it intimateth their guiltiness?
 Can I help that?

Answ. 3. Did that man ever understandingly consider the
 matter, who can doubt of the truth of what I say?

I. On the one side how *heinous* and *many* the sins that we fear
 are, if we should conform, I must not again name, for that's it that
 provoketh.

I I. Now as to the Comparison;

1. Ple appeal to Learned Bishop *Barlow* whether Mr. *Tombs* hath not made the Case of Anabaptistry more difficult? Let them that deny it confute him better than I have done.

2. And why doth none answer the *Hungarians* book for Polygamy if it be easier done than the task in question. I have known the man that maintained, that if a King had a barren wife, and his Kingdom like to be undone by a destructive successor, he might as lawfully take another wife, as *Adams* Children might marry incestuously. And indeed the many unreprieved instances of Polygamy in *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, *David*, *Solomon*, &c. will allow men more pretence for it, than ever I saw brought for all (I say, but For all) that I have named in that book.

3. And many Physicians have said so much (though amiss) for the lawfulness of a Drunken Cup instead of a Vomit & a Cordial in some diseases, as have made it a harder case than ours seems to me: And I say not what it seems to others.

4. And *de necessario concubitu legantur quæ a medicis dicuntur de furore uterino.*

5. And for stealing nothing but present food to save life, he that Considers what God allowed a man to take that went through an Orchard, Vineyard or Corn-field, and what the Law of nature is, and whether the Kings Army on whose strength the Safety of King & Kingdom depends, may not violently take food without the owners consent rather than perish, will find it harder to justify the denying Christendom and Communion to godly Persons that scruple our sort of God Fathers, Crossing and Kneeling, &c. than to confute the aforesaid stealing, or that which is meerly to save life.

6. And as for Lying in cases of necessity, No less men of their own party than *Grotius de Jure Belli* and Bishop *Jer. Taylor* in *Duct. Dubit.* have written for it. And though I be against it, and many Conformists for it, yet I will not deny but if the Life of the King might be saved among Enemies by a Lie; or the Life of a Patient by his Physicians deceiving him by a Lie, much more may be pretended for it, than for all the heinous sin which I fear.

§ 7. And if these words be uncharitable Railing, what means have we left to give them that demand it, the Reasons of our Nonconformity?

What

What if we had gone further, and taken it for a crying Church Crime, and called all the Clergy to Repentance? If that which we judge sinful be not so, let them confute us: If it be so, and as great as we fear, is it not our duty to bewail it, and mourn for it? *Ezek. 9. 4. Zeph. 3. 17, &c.* And is not mincing and extenuating great sin, an implicit hardening men against Repentance? Should one Preach against Adultery, Fornication, Perjury, Murder, as about a doubtful Controversie, or a small thing, and say but [*Good men are on both sides; I dare not say it is a sin, though I dare not do it my self: Or if it be one, it is but such as good men are ordinarily guilty of: We must not judge one another.*] What were this but (worse than *Eli* to his Sons) to cherish Sin, and Preach Impenitence, and serve Satan against the Evangelical Preaching of Repentance?

§ 8. For my Judgment, I profess it to be the duty of me, and all men, to use no Language of Good mens faults, no, though they turn Persecutors upon some particular Errour, but what is consistent with true Love to the men, and to cover their faults that are private, and meerly personal, as far as lawfully we may; but not to make light of publick, aggravated Crimes, such as those of *Hophni* and *Phinehas*; nor to shew indifferency towards Buyers and Sellers in the Temple; nor to strengthen the Sin which threatneth a Land. If I thought that hundreds or thousands of Christ's faithful Ministers in any Country were unjustly hunted and forbidden to Preach the Gospel to a People that truly need it, and this to the unavoidable dividing of the People, and the plain making way for a Forreign Jurisdiction, I should take my self as a guilty hinderer of Repentance, and Enemy to the Publick Safety, if I should say only [*This is a doubtful Controversie between Good, Wise, and Learned men.*]

Labbe ends his *To. i.* as justifying his bitterest Reproaches, with the Authority of Christ, *Peter, Paul, John, Jude, Ignatius.* And if he had only given great and publick sins, the true names necessary to mens knowledge of them, for Repentance or Preservation, those Texts, and many more would have justified him.

C H A P. XIII.

Of his Supposition that I speak against all Bishops Councils.

§ 1 **T**His is not so. 1. I write oft for the great usefulness of Councils. 2. I justly praise no small number of them, especially before the great Rising of the Bishops, for the first 300 or 400 years: He once acknowledgeth it of the *African Councils*: And he might have seen the like of many *Spanish*, and some *French* and *Germane Councils*: The *English* I little medled with. 3. The First General Council at *Nice* I justly honour; yea and the Three following, and many more than three, for the soundness of their Faith, and as having many very laudable persons in them; though I shew the ill effects of their contention and ambition.

I have heard some Conformists confess the great Learning and piety of the *Westminster Synod* in 1642. and of the *Synod of Dort*, where we had Delegates: and yet sharper speak against the Acts of both by far, than I have done by any such pious Persons. Even they that have honoured *Bishop Carlton*, *Bishop Hall*, *Bishop Davenant*, *Dr. Ward*, &c. that were there, have yet bitterly reproached the Decrees which they subscribed. And how many as well as *Dr. Heylin* have written and spoken ill of *A. Bishop Usher*, of *A. Bishop Abbot*, *A. Bishop Grindal*, *A. Bishop Parker* (yea of *A. Bishop Whitgift* for the *Lambeth-Articles* which I justifie not) who yet have a great honour both for Bishops and their Councils.

§ 2. But I confess I am much of *Nazianzen's* mind, and I think I am no more against them in the general than he was. And I am against our subjection to the Jurisdiction of Forreign Councils, and the use that the Pope and ambitious Clergy have made of them, to become Masters of Princes and of the world: I am not for *Ebbo's French Council* which deposed *Ludov. Pius*, nor for making them either the Popes Army, or the Army of Patriacks against each other or of such Princes as *Constantius*, *Valens*, *Theodosius junior*, *Anastasius Philippicus*, *Iustinian*, *Irene*, &c. to fulfill their own mistaken wills, how honest soever the men might

might be. Much less am I for such work as the Council at *Lateran* *sub Innoc. 3* made, no nor that at *Florence*.

§ 3 And I take it for an Act of great Prudence in this my accuser, while he is vindicating Bishops Councils, to go no further than the four first General, when it is many hundred that I have mentioned. And is it not really an intimated accusation of them to vindicate so few of above 400. And those such as for their faith we all own.

And yet a man would think by the strein of his style and language that it were at least the greater part of Councils that he were pleading for. I say still as Bishop *Bilson* and other Protestants: Well ordered sound Councils we owe great respect and honour to, for Counsel, strength and Concord, but *subjection and Obedience*, saith he, *We owe Them* none, (save as we are bid, be all subject one to another, and serve one another in Love.)

§ 4. And now I leave any impartial man to judge what answer such a book deserved, which goeth upon all these forementioned untrue suppositions.

CHAP. XIV.

Some mens Credit about ancient Church History, may be conjectured at by their Reports of the History of the time and place that we live in.

§ 1. **B**Y their History of late and present things we may conjecture at the Credit of not Mr. *M's*. but others of the Clergy-accusers and Prosecutors of their Brethren. Almost all that I remember that write against me, agree in such misreporting matters of fact, yea the most publick, of the persons, place and time, which our senses have given us notice of, that we must believe them with as great difficulty as we must believe Transubstantiation, even in opposition to all our senses and experience. And whether those men be fit Vindicaters of the Bishops and Councils above a Thousand years ago (which are blamed by the Historians of their own Age, and by their own Confessions, and by their most fervent Defenders) who notoriously misreport the persons, and actions of their own Place and Age, I think it is not hard to judge. I will

I will instance in Twenty particulars of publick notice; for those against particular persons, even my self, are not to be numbred.

I. It is now commonly taken for true, that the present Nonconformists, who gave in their Desires for Concord 1660. are of the same Judgment as those called Nonconformists heretofore, and whatever can be raked up out of *Christ. Goodman, Knox, Kilby*, or is reported by *Bancroft*, is partly chargeable on them, when as their proposed Desires yet shew the world that they never made any motion against many things by those aforesaid scrupled, in Doctrine, Worship, and Ceremony.

And it is commonly supposed by them, that the present Conformity is but the same as the Old, and the Case no harder to us: And this notwithstanding all the still visible Acts and Alterations, and Additions, which attest the contrary to all the world.

II. In most of their Invectives the present Nonconformists are argued against, as if they had been in the Civil War against the King; or had been guilty of it more than the Conformists. And that War is made a Reason of their Silencing; whereas so few of them had any hand in it, that I have many times told them, that if they will Silence none but those that they can prove guilty of any War, or Rebellion, or Sedition, the rest of us will give them a thousand Thanks, though we suffer our selves. Few of the present Nonconformists were then in the Ministry, and of those few that were, few now living meddled with War.

III. They are so confident that the Parliament and Army that began the War in *England*, were Nonconformists, yea Presbyterians, and not of the Church of *England*, that Mr. *Hinkley*, & here Mr. *Morrice*, make a renouncing of their Senses or Understandings necessary to the believing of it. And yet they might as well tell us, that they were all Turks or Papists. Are not a Parliament and an Army things publick enough to be known in the same Age? When we name to them the Chief Lords and Commons, and Chief Commanders, yet (and lately) living, who are known still to live in their own Communion; and when we challenge them to name Three Presbyterians that were then in the House of Lords, or the House of Commons; or many that were at first Commanders in the Army; and we name them the Men that then Commanded, who were commonly known to

to be Conformists of the Church of *England*. And if they will not believe their present practice and profession they may yet go to them and be satisfied from their own mouths what were their former Principles. I have told them of a most credible Member of that Parliament yet living, who hath oft profest to me that he knew but one Presbyterian in the House of Commons when the war began, and I have named that one man to them, to try if they can name another. I expect not that they should believe me, or such other concerning those whom we knew: But they may believe the men themselves yet living, & their most familiar Friends.

Yea the Records of many foregoing Parliaments, with *Land's* Life written by Dr. *Heylin* fully sheweth them that the difference arose 1. About the fear of Popery, (and *Arminianism* as they thought tending towards it) 2. About Property, Loan-mony, Knight-mony and after Ship-mony, &c. 3. About Imprisonment of members and other Gentlemen. And these were still the quarrel.

But saith Mr. *M*. *How then shall we believe our senses.* *Ans.* See Reader, whether his most confident Errours about past things be any wonder. He is not so sure of what he saith of the old Prelates, or the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. as he is that he must believe his Senses: And his very senses tell him that a Parliament, even Lords, Commons, and an Army, many of whom are yet living, were of another opinion in Religion than ever they were then acquainted with, and which was known to very few in *England* till afterward. And this contrary to their Profession and practice and the senses of their acquaintance. Lords are Persons of so publick notice that they may easily yet be informed of the living and the dead: In the Army the Chief Commanders were the E. of *Essex*, the E. of *Bedford* (yet living) Sir *John Merrick*, the E. of *Peterborough*, *Dolbiere*, the E. of *Stamford*, the Lord *Hastings* (E. of *Huntington*) the Lord *Rochford* (E. of *Dover*) the Lord *Fielding* (E. of *Denbigh*) the Lord *Mandevile* (E. of *Manchester*) the Lord *Roberts* (now Earl of *Radnor* and President of his Majesties Council) the Lord *St. Johns*, (killed at *Keinton* Fight.) Only the Lord *Say*, and Lord *Brook* were known Independents; and whether the Lord *Wharton* (yet living) was then for Bishops or against them I know not; but all the rest were of the Church of *England*. And so were the other Collonels, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, the late Lord *Hollis*, Col. *Will. Bampfield*, Col.

Tho. Grantham, Col. Tho. Ballard, C. Sir William Fairfax, Col. Charles Essex, Col. Lord Willoughby of Parham, Col. Sir Will. Waller, Col. Edwin Sandys, Cap. Lord Grey of Grooby; and I think then Sir Will. Constable and Col. Hampden. What mind Sir Will. Balfoore was of I know not: But I know his Country man Col. Brown was too far from a Puritane.

But saith Mr. M. [*1. It's well the Bishops had no share in it*] *Ans.* Let Heylin tell you what hand the difference between A. Bishop Abbats Church of England and Land's then little Party had in the preparations. 2. And was the A. Bishop of York no Bishop, who afterward was a Commander for the Parliament.

But saith he, [*I pray where were the Presbyterians when the Parliament took up Arms: Were they not then in being?*] *Ans.* An excellent Historian! that maintaineth Parliament and Army were such, as he knows not whether they were then in being. Yes Sir, they were in Holland, and France and Geneva, and Scotland; and in England there was one John Ball, and one Mr. Langley, and a few more such old Nonconformists that never were in Arms, and old John Dod, and one Mr. Gere that was against the war and dyed for grief of the Kings death: But among those called Puritans, few knew what Presbytery was, till the Scots afterward brought it in. Much less did Lords, Commons, and Army know it. In your sense Sir they were not then in being, and therefore could not fight.

It appears by Bancroft and others that there had been once Presbyterians in England: But they were dead, and few even of the few Nonconforming Ministers succeeded them in the Study of that point.

But saith he, [*Were they none of them in the house*] *Ans.* Yes, one [*or did they protest against the proceedings of the Episcopal and Erastians?*] *Ans.* That one went with them. And *Non entis non sunt accidentia.*

But saith he [*Can Mr. B. believe (or think any one else so weak as to be imposed on in a matter so notorious) that it was a Parliament of Episcopals, and Erastians and not Presbyterians that began the war?*]

Ans. Thus youngmen that know not whom they talk of can controle the most publick matter of fact by their conjectures. Go ask the worthy Master of the Rolls Sir Harbottle Grimston, whose Speeches were then printed: Ask Sir John Maynard His Majesties

jesties Sergeant at Law who was one of them ; or any other of them yet living. Ask them whether they knew themselves and their companions better than you, who it seems knew them not.

But saith he [*Were they Episcopals that voted down Episcopacy Root and Branch before the war begun*] *Ans.* 1. Have you proved that they did so ? 2. Do you think that a contradiction ? 1. They had got a belief that Bishop *Land* had got such men into the Seats as were for a Syncretism with the Papists (described by *Heylin*) and against the Subjects Property and Liberty. And it was the *Men* and not the Office that offended them. 2. But because they were willing of the favour of the *Scots*, and those *Londoners* who were against the Bishops, they pleased them by voting down the present frame, intending to set up a moderate Episcopacy in its stead ; Yea long after this when many Learned Divines in the Assembly declared themselves for Episcopacy, but not for Deans, Chancellors, &c. They altered the Covenant so as to describe the present frame only : And when the House of Lords took the Covenant, Mr. *Coleman* (an *Erastian*) gave it them openly, declaring, that it was not meer Episcopacy that this Covenant renounced, but only the *English* described Complicate form. And could they have had such Bishops as *Abbot* and the old Church of *England*, they had never gone thus far. 3. And they thought not Episcopacy itself so necessary, (though if moderate the best sort of Governments) as to hazard all for it, which they thought had been in danger. Even in 1640 *July* 17. They Voted a Diocesan in every County, with Twelve Divines to Govern.

But, saith he, [*Were they Episcopals that Petitioned the King at York for Reformation in Discipline and Worship then ? i. e. for abolishing Episcopacy and Common-Prayer ?*] *Ans.* 1. Reforming is not Abolishing. 2. I answered that as to the last. When they feared that the Old House would fall on their heads, they were for pulling of it down, and building a New one, after such a Model as Bishop *Usher* after gave, and the *Germane*, *Swedish*, and *Danish* Churches have ; which they called the Primitive Episcopacy : But before they could do it, they needed the *Scots* help, who brought in the Covenant, which they chose rather than to fall into the hands of those of whom they had such thoughts and fears, as I need not now describe. *Prin's History of Land's Tryal* describeth them.

I would ask this confident Historian (*whose senses tell him what Religion men were of contrary to their daily practice of communicating in the Parish-Churches conformably*) whether the Longest Parliament of all, which made the Acts of Uniformity, the Corporation and Vestry Acts, the Two Acts against Conventicles, the *Militia* Act, &c. were Presbyterian or Episcopal? Verily, if these were Presbyterians, I am none, nor ever will be: We shall then have a strange definition of a Presbyterian, such as will take in Bishop *Sheldon*, Bishop *Morley*, Bishop *Gunning*, and such others. If not, did not the fear of Popery make that very Parliament begin to look so sorely on the Clergy, as produced that which I need not tell you of? And did not most of the same men meet in the next Parliament after, and look yet more suspiciously on the Clergy? And the next yet more? And doth it follow that they were not Episcopal but Presbyterian? But some men are confident against the Sun-light, and the most notorious Publick Evidence. But I must confess that such have shaken my belief of the meer Moral Evidence of most History, and left me only certain of that which hath Evidence, which is truly Natural, in the Natural Impossibility of Conspiracy in a Lie.

There were men heretofore that would swear that man was a Puritane, who would not swear and drink with them, and would pray in their Families, and read the Scriptures on the Lord's Day, while others were dancing. And the word [*Puritane*] is now vulgarly changed into [*Presbyterian*] (by the Clergies Conduct.) And there are some Clergy-men that will say, a man is a Presbyterian, who reproves them for Drunkenness and Swearing, and other Crimes, specially if he would not have Nonconformists ruined and laid in Gaol with Rogues. In this sense I deny not but Lords, Commons and Army, had many Puritanes or Presbyterians among them, who yet never knew what Presbytery was.

But, saith Mr. *M.* [*Were they Episcopal who pray the King at Oxford to abolish A. Bishops and Bishops, &c. that entred into a Solemn League and Covenant against Episcopacy, and for Reforming the Church after the Presbyterian Platform, and set up Presbytery by so many Ordinances?*]

Answ. *Distingue tempora* is none of this Historians Principles. How long after the War begun was this Petition at Oxford, this Covenant, and these Ordinances? He proveth them Presbyterians

byterians at first when they knew not what it was, because they were for Presbytery a year or two after: *Negatur Sequela*. The Scots taught afterwards the Assembly, and them that which they never knew before, 2. And all these Petitions & Ordinances shewed not what they preferred as best, but what they preferred before expected ruine. The Issue proved this, and *Heylin* confesseth it, and saith, They never set up Presbytery in any one place (which yet is not true, though they did not force it.)

3. Do you not know now living, those Episcopal Conformists, who refuse no part of your Conformity, and are much against Presbytery, who since the Discovery of the Papists Plot, are so much afraid of Popery, and so confident that too many of the Clergy are prepared for it, that a little more would turn them from you, though they love Presbytery as little as they love your selves.

In a word, The Old Clergy and the Parliament Men agreed. The New Clergy in Bishop *Land's* time distasted them, & the Scots Presbyterians helping them in their straits, partly turned some of them, and partly imposed on them unpleasing conditions.

But saith he, [*The Erastians and Independents were at first inconsiderable, and acted joyntly with the Presbyterians, &c.*]

Ans. Thus is History delivered to the deluded World! Neither Independency nor Presbytery were understood by many till the War was begun. The Scots Commissioners by degrees acquainted them with Presbytery, and Mr. *Burton's* Protestation Protested, and the five Dissenters with Independency: Two or three Independents were in the House of Lords, and some few in the House of Commons: It was Episcopal-men that made up the main Body: These were of two sorts: The one sort thought Episcopacy of Divine Institution, but not Chancellors, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, Officials, &c. The other sort thought that Episcopacy, not rampant, was the best Government *jure humano*; But that the Magistrate being Chief, might set it up, or take it down, as he see most for the common good. These were called by some *Erastians*: And that these at first were inconsiderable, is History written in despite of Evidence. Let any man 1. Read what Parliaments formerly said; 2. And what many *English* Divines wrote for the *Jus humanum* against the *Jus Divinum*; and what Testimony *Prin* hath given of it; 3. And what Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath produced for it in his *Irenicon*;

4. And

4. And how commonly it was owned by Conformists then in Conference ; 5. And how commonly the Lawyers were for the Humane Right ; 6. Yea and the Civilians themselves ; and then let him take this Historian's word, if he tell Posterity that the Parliament and Army were not *English* men.

IV. These Historians candidly tell the world, that the Nonconformists, who offered their Desires for Concord 1660. were Presbyterians, and so are most of the Nonconformists now. Whereas they never made one motion for Presbytery, for Lay-Elders, for Ruling Classes or Assemblies, nor against Episcopacy ; but only offered the Paper called A. Bishop *Usher's* Reduction of Episcopacy to the Primitive Form ; wherein neither A. Bishops, nor Bishops, nor Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, were taken down, or any of their Revenues, Lordships, or Parliament-Power. This is Presbytery with these Historians.

V. They make the world believe that the main Body of the Conformists, are such as suffered for the King, or complied not with the Directory and Times of Usurpation : Whereas it's publicly notorious, that there are about 9000 Parish-Churches in *England*, besides many hundred Chappels, & many Churches that had more than one Minister. And almost all these complied with the Times or Directory, as the Nonconformists did : And of all these, it was but about 2000 that Conformed not ; so that 7000 or 8000 of them that had kept in, did on a sudden turn Conformists. And divers that had been in Arms for the Parliament : Yea, some that had written for the Engagement when I wrote against it ; yea some that had spoken or written *tantum non* a Justification of the Killing of the King. And of those that joyned with us in our Proposals for Concord, Dr. *Worth*, and Dr. *Reignolds* were made Bishops, and divers others did Conform.

VI. These Historians would make the world believe that the Present Church, and such as they, did more than the Parliamentarians, and Presbyterians, and Nonconformists, to restore the King ; when it is notoriously known, how oft their Attempts were defeated, and what the *Scots* Army under *Hamilton* underwent, to say nothing of the next ; and of the Lord *Delamore's* Attempt, and what the Restored Parliament did : But sure I am, that the Old Parliament Souldiers, and Presbyterian Commanders and Souldiers in General *Monk's* Army, with those in *England* and *Ireland* that joyned with him, and Sir *Thomas Allen*
Lord

Lord Mayor, with the *Londoners*, at the persuasion of the Presbyterian Ministers, drawing General *Monk* to joyn with them, did the main work, which the Council and Parliament after finished. When most of these men that will not endure the oblivion of Discords, nor the Reconciling and Union of the King's Subjects, do but start up to revile others, and blow the Coals again, and reap the fruit of other mens labours, that desire but to live in Peace.

VII. That there are able worthy men that Conform, we are far from denying; and we earnestly desire their Concord, and the success of their Labour, and I hope love them as our selves. But whereas the History of this Party doth proclaim how much better and abler Ministers than the Nonconformists are generally put into their Places, that are no Novices or Ignorant Youths, no Drunkards, nor scandalous, but more laborious, skilful Labourers, I will say nothing, but let the Countries judge.

VIII. And whether it be true that there is no need of the Nonconformists Ministry, but the Churches are sufficiently supplied without them, both as to the number and quality of their Teachers, I have in my Apology enquired; and with godly men it's easily judged.

IX. And whether it be true, that it was only for the Kings or Bishops cause that the Parliament put out all, or most of them that were heretofore removed, I leave to the Witnesses and Articles against them. I am sure I and my neighbour Ministers petitioned that none that were tolerable pious Ministers, might be put out for being for the King or Bishops.

X. It is commonly now recorded and reported that the Presbyterians and those that now conform not put down Catechizing, and turned the Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue out of the Church Service. Whereas (if some few Independents did any of this, it is more than I know, but) in all our Countrey, and where I came, I remember no Churches that did not use the Creed openly at their baptizing any, and the Decalogue frequently read out of *Exod. 20.* or *Dent. 5.* and the Lords prayer frequently; as we did constantly. But some thought that we were not bound to use it every time they prayed. And the Directory commendeth all these to them. And all our Countrey agreed not only to Catechize publickly, but to take larger time
on

on the week daies to Catechize every family.

X I. These Historians say that I and such others take the things which we conform not to, to be but inconveniences and not sins; And that we keep the Nation in Schisme while we confess the things to be but Indifferent And our writings are visible in which we profest the contrary, and laboured by many arguments to prove it and protested that we would conform if we took them not to be sins. And we gave in a Catalogue of what we judged to be sins: And this before the New Conformity was imposed: And since the fiercest displeasure is against us for telling them what we account Sin, and how great: When many years together our Rulers and the People were told that we confessed them indifferent and refused them but to avoid offending our followers.

X I I. We frequently hear from them that we oppose Episcopacy because we cannot be Bishops our selves: When its known that nothing could more put men out of all such hopes than the Presbyterians Endeavours that both their power and wealth should be taken down: And he that hath any desires of a Bishoprick should sure be for the keeping of them up. And the same men reprove us for refusing Bishopricks and Deanries, and say we did it to please the People.

X I V. The new Historians would make us believe that the Reformed Church of *England* before Bishop *Lauds* time were of their mind that now call themselves Bishops and Doctors of the Church of *England*, in holding as they do, that there is an Universal humane Sovereignty with Legislative and Judicial power over all the Churches on earth: and that this is in Councils, or an Universal Colledge of Bishops; of which the Pope may be allowed to be president, and *Principium Unitatis*, &c. and that he must be obeyed as Patriarch of the West; and so we must be under a forreign Jurisdiction. Whereas it is notoriously known that before Bishop *Lauds* time the doctrine of this Church was quite Contrary, as may be seen at large in the Apology, the Articles of Religion, the writings of the Bishops and Doctors; Yea they writ copiously to prove that the Pope is Antichrist, and put it into their Liturgy. And Dr. *Heylin* tells us that the Reason why Bishop *Land* got it out was, that it might not offend the Papists and hinder our reconciliation with them; And the Oath of Supremacy sweareth us against all forreign Jurisdiction.

X V. The same Historians would make us believe that these
mens

mens doctrine is now the doctrine of the Church of *England* or agreeable to it. Whereas the Oath of Allegiance is still in force, and so are the Homilies, and the Articles of Religion and the Laws and Canons for the Kings Supremacy against all forreign Jurisdiction. And there is no change made which alloweth of their doctrine : And the Church doctrine must be known by its publick writings, and not by the opinions of new risen men.

X V I. The new Historians make the Nonconforming Ministers to be men grossly ignorant, preaching false doctrine, of wicked principles and lives, and not fit to be suffered out of Gaols. And yet these 19. or 20. years how few of them have been convict of any false doctrine ? And I have not heard of four in *England* that have ever been convict since they were cast out, of being once drunk, or fornicating, cheating, swearing, or any immorality, unless preaching and not swearing, Subscribing, &c. be such, nor for false doctrine.

X V I I. The new Historians have made thousands believe that the doctrine or opinions of the Nonconformists is for sedition and rebellion ; And that it is for this that they refuse to renounce the obligation of the Covenant as to all men besides themselves and that they refuse to subscribe that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against any Commissioned by the King. Whereas we have at large in a second Plea for peace opened our judgments about Loyalty and obedience, and none of them will tell us what they would have more, nor where our profession is too short or faulty. Nor have they convict any of my acquaintance of preaching any disloyal doctrine.

X V I I I. Yea they have by writing, preaching and talking made multitudes believe that the Nonconformists or Presbyterians have been long hatching a rebellion against the King, and have a Plot to take down Monarchy under pretence of opposing Popery. And how far these Historians are to be believed, true Protestants by this time partly understand.

X I X. Yea these Historians have made multitudes believe that the Parliaments that have been dissolved here of late years have been designing to change the Government of Church and state, under pretence of opposing Popery. As if that Parliament that did that for them and against us which is done, and made all the Acts which are for the Renunciation of the Covenant, and for all the Declarations, Subscriptions and Practices Imposed, and for Fining us 20 £, and 40 £. a Sermon, and laying us in Gaols,

had been for Nonconformists, and against Episcopacy; and they that made the *Militia* Act, and such other had been against the King or his Prerogative: Or the other following had not been of the same Religion.

X X. But the boldest part of their History, is their description of the two sorts of the People in *England*, those that are for the present Nonconformists, and those that are against them. Those that are against them, they account the most Religious, Temperate, Chast, Loyal, Credible, and in a word, the best people through the Land (for of our Rulers I am not speaking.) And those that are for the Nonconforming Ministers, they defame as the most proud, hypocritical, treacherous, disloyal, covetous, false, and in a word, the worst people in the Land; or as *Fowls* faith, the worst of all mankind, and unfit to live in humane Society. How long will it be ere the sober people of this Land believe this Character? One would think that the quality of the common Inhabitants of the Land should not be a Controversie, or unknown thing. All that I will say to this History, is, to tell the Reader the utmost of my observation and experience from my Youth up, concerning these two sorts of men.

Where I was bred before 1640. (which was in divers places) I knew not one Presbyterian Clergy-man, nor Lay, and but three or four Nonconforming Ministers. Nay till Mr. *Ball* wrote for the Liturgy and against *Can*, and *Allen*, &c. and till Mr. *Burton* Published his Protestation protested, I never thought what Presbytery or Independency were, nor ever spake with a man that seemed to know it: And that was in 1641. when the War was brewing. In the place where I first lived, and the Country about, the People were of two sorts: The generality seemed to mind nothing seriously but the body and the world: They went to Church and would answer the Parson in Responds and thence go to dinner, and then to play: They never prayed in their families, but some of them going to bed, would say over the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, & some of them the *Hail Mary*: All the year long, not a serious word of holy things, or the Life to come, that I could hear of, proceeded from them. They read not the Scripture, nor any good Book or Catechism. Few of them could read, or had a Bible: They were of two ranks; the greater part were good Husbands as they called them, and favoured of nothing but their business or Interest in the World; the rest were Drunkards: Most were Swearers, but not equally: Both sorts.

sorts seemed utter strangers to any more of Religion than I have named ; and loved not to hear any serious talk of God, or Duty, or Sin, or the Gospel, or Judgment, or the Life to come : But some more hated it than others : The other sort were such as had their Consciences awakened to some regard of God and their Everlasting State ; and according to the various measures of their understanding, did speak and live as serious in the Christian Faith, and would much enquire what was Duty, and what was Sin, and how to please God, and to make sure of Salvation ; and made this their Business and Interest, as the rest did the world. They read the Scripture, and such Books as *The Practice of Piety ; and Dent's Plain Man's Path Way ; and Dod on the Commandments, &c.* They used to pray in their Families, and alone ; some on the Book, and some without : They would not Swear, nor Curse, nor take God's Name lightly : They feared all known sin : They would go to the next Parish-Church to hear a Sermon when they had none at their own ; would read the Scripture on the Lord's Day, when others were playing : These were, where I lived, about the number of two or three Families in twenty ; and these by the rest were called Puritanes, and derided as Hypocrites and Precisians, that would take on them to be Holy : And especially if they told any one of his Swearing, Drunkenness, or Ungodliness, they were made the common scorn. Yet not one of many of them ever scrupled Conformity to Bishops Liturgy or Ceremonies, and it was godly Conformable Ministers that they went from home to hear : And these Ministers being the ablest Preachers, and of more serious Piety, were also the Objects of the Vulgar Obloquy as Puritanes and Precisians themselves ; and accordingly spoke against by many of their Tribe, and envied for being preferred by godly men.

This being the Condition of the Vulgar where I was, when I came into the acquaintance of many Persons of Honour and Power, and reputed Learning, I found the same seriousness in Religion in some few before described, and the same daily scorn of that sort of men in others, but differently cloathed : For these would talk more bitterly, but yet with a greater shew of reason against the other, than the ignorant Country People did : And they would sometime talk of some Opinions in Religion, and some of them would use some of the Common-Prayer in

their Houses, and some of them would swear, but seldom, and small Oaths, and lived soberly and civilly; but serious talk of God or Godliness, or that which tended to search and reform the Heart and Life, and seriously prepare for the Life to come, or to awaken Souls to a care of their State and Salvation, they would at least be very weary to hear, if not deride as Puritanical. Mr. Robert Bolton a Conformist, hath fully opened all this of both sorts in his *Discourse of True Happiness, and Directions for walking with God*: And how the name *Puritane* was then used.

This being the Fundamental Division where I came, some of these that were called Puritanes and Hypocrites, for not being Hypocrites, but serious in the Religion they professed, would sometimes get together, and as Drunkards and Sporters would meet to drink and play, they would (in some very few places, where there were many of them) meet after Sermon on the Lord's Daies to Repeat the Conforming Ministers Sermon, and sing a Psalm, and Pray. For this, and for going from their own Parish-Churches, they were first envied by the Readers, and dry Teachers, whom they sometime went from, and next prosecuted by Apparitors, Officials, Archdeacons, Commissaries, Chancellors, and other Episcopal Instruments: For in former times there had been divers Presbyterian Nonconformists, who earnestly pleaded for Parish-Discipline (as *Bucer* also did in *Oper. Anglic.*) And to subdue these, divers Canons were made; which served the turn against these Meetings of the Conformable Puritanes, and going from their own Parish-Churches; though the Old Presbyterians were dead, and very few succeeded them. About as many Nonconformists as Counties were left; and those few most stuck at Subscription and Ceremonies, which were the hinderance of their Ministry; and but few of them studied or understood the Presbyterian or Independent Disciplinary Causes.

But when these Conformable Puritanes were thus prosecuted, it bred in them hard thoughts of the Bishops and their Courts, as Enemies to serious Piety, and Persecutors of that which they should promote: Suffering bred this Opinion and Aversion. And the ungodly Rabble rejoiced at their troubles, and applauded the Bishops for it, and were every where ready to set the Apparitors on them, or to ask them, Are you holier or wiser than the Bishops? And their Accusations were readily entertained

tertained : This much inclined them to hearken to them that were averse to Conformity, when such rose up, and to such as were more against the Bishops, than there was cause ; so that by this time, the Puritanes took the Bishops to be Captains and the Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officials and Paritors, their Officers, and the Enemies of serious Godliness, and the vicious Rabble to be as their Army, to suppress true consciencious Obedience to God, and care of mens Salvation. And the censured Clergy and Officers took the Censurers to be Schismatics, and Enemies to the Church, unfit to be endured, and fit to be prosecuted with reproach and punishment ; so that the said Puritanes took it to be but the common Enmity that since *Cain's* daies hath been in the world, between the Serpent's and the Woman's Seed : And when the persons of Bishops, Chancellors, Officials, Apparitors, &c. were come under such a repute, it was easie to believe what should be said against their Office. And the more the Bishops thought to cure this by punishment, the more they increased the Opinion, that they were persecuting Enemies of Godliness, and the Captains of the Prophane.

And when such sinful Beginnings had prepared men, the Civil Contentions arising, those called Puritanes, mostly were against that side which they saw the Bishops and their Neighbour Enemies for : And they were for the Parliament the rather, because they seemed desirous to Reform the Bishops, and Restore the Liberty of those whom they prosecuted for the manner of their serving God. Yet they desired, where-ever I was, to have lived peaceably at home : But the Drunkards and Rabble that formerly hated them, when they saw the War beginning, grew enraged ; and if a man did but Pray, and Sing a Psalm in his house, they would cry [*Down with the Roundheads*] (a word then new made for them,) and put them in fear of sudden violence, and afterwards brought the King's Souldiers to plunder them of their goods, and they were faine to run into holes to hide their persons (*Martin Crusius* in his *Turco-Gracia* describeth much the like Case of his Father.) And when their Goods were gone, and their Lives in continual danger, they were forced to fly for Food and Shelter : To go among those that hated them, they durst not, when they could not dwell among such at home. And thus thousands run into the Parliaments Garrisons, and having nothing there to live upon, became Souldiers.

We had an honest very Old *Arminian* (Mr. *Nayler*) in *Coven-*
try, that was against the Parliaments Cause; and he would say,
 [The King hath the best Cause, and the Parliament the best Men.]
 And that he wondred how it came to pass, that the generality
 of sober Religious men, should be all in the wrong, and the most
 Irreligious and Prophane, and Debauched be in the right.] But
 he knew but the Vulgar, and not the Grandees, who no doubt
 were many of them men of very laudable accomplishments.

And as the feud of the Bishops and their Officers and Curates
 against the afore said exercises of Religion occasioned this sad Di-
 vision, so did the sense of this in the minds of those called Pu-
 ritanes continue too long. Many a time have I seen abundance
 in great Perplexity, saying [We believed them that professed
 that they took not Arms against the King, but to execute the
 Law on Delinquents and defend themselves and the Kingdom
 from them: We abhor the Regicides and Usurpers: We would
 restore the King, if we were stronger than the Army. And yet
 we are in doubt how far we should actively contribute to our
 own calamity: For though the King deserve more than we
 can do, we doubt not but the Bishops will increase our Burdens
 and make greater havock in the Church than heretofore] And
 many sate still on this account, and as far as ever I could dis-
 cern, next the Power of the Army, the fear of the Bishops was
 the chief delay of the Kings return.

I knew not all *England*; but according to the Extent of my ac-
 quaintance, I have truly told you the quality of those then
 called Puritans and of their Common adversaries.

And on which side now proportionably are most of the most
 understanding, sober, charitable, conscionable, and seriously re-
 ligious Persons, and on which most of the contrary (not speak-
 ing of any Magistrates) I think it neither my work, nor our New
 Historians to tell: For people that live among their neighbours,
 will believe their senses and experience, what ever either he
 or I shall say. And I am well assured that this argument (which
 I think was not sound) [We cannot believe that God will suffer the
 Generality of the Religious to be deceived in so great a case, and the
 most of the debauched ignorant haters of serious Godliness to be in
 the right,] did prevail with very many that could not try
 the Cause by the Laws and constitution of the Kingdom.

§ 2. If I should recite the particular unjust reports of mul-
 titudes

itudes of these Writers it would be tiresome and loathsome: Yea all the mistakes of this Eminent Historian are too many to be named: But I will here name one which seems at once to smite and smile.

Pag. 227. [“ *There is a temper which Mr. B. is acquainted with that, is not to be prevailed on, either by threats or promises from the Magistrate; and seems to hate nothing so much as compliance with Superiors: There are some that scorn to preach by the Licence of the Government, and place the Kingdom of Christ purely in opposition to Law and Magistrates.*]

Answ. Note the credibility of this Historian. 1. Doth their accusation of my flattering the Usurpers (whom I more openly disowned than most of his Fraternity) agree with this?

2. Did my long and earnest Petitioning to be accepted but in a poor Curates place, though I Preacht for nothing, yea if it were but in some ignorant obscure Village, and only to preach over the Catechism, agree with this?

3. Doth my large profession of Subjection in my Second Plea for Peace not yet blamed by them herein agree with this?

4. I willingly took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and an Oath to be true to the King as his Chaplain in ordinary, and had this any such signification?

5. Did my begging in vain a License from Bishop Morley, and craving and obtaining one of Bishop Sheldon, signifie this?

6. But the smile is that one would think by these words, I might have preached by the Governours License and would not. And is that true? Did I not preach by the Kings License, and the Clergy blame me for it? And as for the Bishops License I do profess that it's yet in force, and I do preach by it. If I mistake it is not my refusing it. If he intimate as he seems, that by the Bishops License I might have had leave to preach in the Parish Churches, it's now too late: But I would I had known how to get it. I confess one Summer in the Countrey about 25 miles off, I did venture upon the Credit of my License (at *Amersham, Chesham, Rickmersworth, &c.*) But it was too pleasing work to me to be continued: One Church in *Southwark* I was once let into, but no more in or near *London*. I once craved leave of the moderate Bishop that now is, that without putting down the meeting where I was in that great Parish of *St. Martin's*, I might preach sometime there and once a day at the Chappel
which

which I built, which the Parish Incumbent useth, and that he would quiet the Justices to that end, and thought I had had his consent: But the Constables and other Officers stood from that day about a quarter of a year together every Lord's Day at the door of the former place of Assembly, to have apprehended me by the Justices warrant if I had gone. And never could I hear of a man in *London* that was willing I should come into his Pulpit; but the best have refused it. Nor did I much desire it here: For it is not to preach to them that have no need that is my request; but to such as cannot come into the Parish Church or otherwise truly need our help. Once I did try to have got leave two miles out of the City to have preacht a Kinswomans Funerall Sermon on the right of my License: But the Minister said, He must first ask the Bishop, and then denyed me.

Reader, these are the Historians that Charge me with mis-report of ancient History, visible in the most partial Authors on the other side: Judge of them by their Report of the History of our Place and Age.

C H A P. XV.

Mr. M's. way of getting belief, by a Magisterial condemning the most credible Historians, and authorizing whom he please.

§ 1. **I**F we had not *Eusebius*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, how naked should we be left, and much unacquainted with the case of the Church from the Apostles; (Besides *Theodoret's* History) till 440. And what a shake is given to the Credit of all these by Mr. *M.* and others of greater name?

Though *Eusebius* himself be by *Petavius* and many other Papists accounted an *Arian*, yea and seemingly proved such, and by *Bellarmino de Script. Eccles.* its said that *Athanasius* so calls him, and *Ierom* calls him the *Arian* Signifer and Prince, and the 7th General Council so judgeth him, yet *Socrates* vindicateth him, and thinks he is wronged: And indeed though his own Epistle written to his Flock be not justifiable, incautelous and unjustifiable words were too Common before his daies (as *Petavius* hath too fully proved) with those that we must not yet call *Arians*. But while *Bellarmino* and Mr. *M.* charge *Socrates* and
Sozomen

Sozomen as *Novatians* that is Hereticks themselves, they deprive *Eusebius* of much of their defence; and render his History the more suspicious.

§ 2. And though I know Mr. *M.* hath more partners herein, I never saw yet any credible proof that either of them were *Novatians*: Good Christians are not ashamed nor afraid to make profession of their Religion. And they are so far from professing it, that they oft speak of the *Novatians* in disowning words. But they praised them for the good that is in them! And would not any impartial Historian do the like? Must a man rail at any party, or hide their Virtues or else be taken to be one of them? I confess that such as Mr. *M.* do fully acquit themselves from the suspicion of being Presbyterians or Nonconformists. But so did not A. Bishop *Grindall*, Bishop *Jewel*, A. Bishop *Abbot* A. Bishop *Usher*, and many more such. Sure Candor and Impartiality is Laudable in Historians; And *Thuanus* is most honoured for that. And notwithstanding Mr. *M.*'s assertions of the contrary, I profess myself a lover & honourer of the worth of many of the aspiring Bishops that corrupted the Church, and of many Popes, and of many that continue Church corruptions in the height; even many of the Papists Cardinals, Schoolmen and Jesuites. Who will not love and praise the excellent Learning of such as *Suarez*, *Vasquez*, *Victoria*, *Petavius* and abundance such? Who will not praise the piety of such as *Gerson*, *Borromeus*, *Sales*, and many others, though we nevertheless disown their Popery? For my part I highly value the Cleareness, of multitudes of the Schoolmen, and that they have not in whole loads of their volumes so much malicious railing as the Jesuits and many of our late Conformists have in a few sheets. Doth it follow that I am a Papist because I praise them, or that *Socrates* or *Sozomen* were *Novatians* because they speak well of their faith and piety.

There are abundance of Malignants, that acknowledge the Good Lives of those they call Puritanes (and if he had not had the late Wars between King and Parliament to fill all Mouths and Books against them, the Devil by this time might have been at a loss with what Accusations to reproach them. For he was put to use the *Voices* (no names) of [*Roundheads*, *Whigs*, &c. when their Revilers were called Drunkards, Swearers, Dam-me's, &c.] But they that confess the Good, reproach them as Hypocrites that do but counterfeit it. Doth this ac-

O

knowledgment

knowledge prove them Puritanes. I suppose Mr. M. knoweth that no small number of Historians and Fathers confess the strictness of the *Novatians* Lives, and yet were no *Novatians*. And *Constantine's* words to *Acesius* imply that he thought him singularly strict. And Mr. M. saith Pref. [*The Novatians, saith the Author, did not suffer much by this Edict, being befriended by the Emperour, who had an esteem for their Bishop of C. P. upon the account of his Holiness.*] And may not an Orthodox man confess the Piety of others?

§ 3. But Mr. M. is so Magisterial as to say, Pag. 322. *The story of Theophilus, and the Monks of Nitria, no reasonable man can believe, as it is related by Socrates and Sozomen, without loving a malicious Lie.*] So that *Socrates* and *Sozomen* either believed not themselves, or else Loved a malicious Lie.

And Page 319. he saith, [*The story of Theophilus his charging Isidore with double Letters, that whoever was Conquerour, he might apply himself to him in his name, is of the same piece with the rest of Socrates his story concerning that Bishop; and in all probability an invention of one of the Monks of Nitria.*]

It seems this Historian believeth Old Historians, as the matters seem probable or improbable to himself. And so we may take him for the Universal Expofitor of History: It is not the Old Historians that we must believe, but his Conjectures. And thus he deals with divers others.

§ 4. For my part I profess, that before I had any Engagement in these Controversies, since I first read them, I took *Socrates* and *Sozomen* to be two of the most credible Historians that the Church had till their Times, and of many an Age after them. I said of them, as I use to do of *Thuanus*, A man may trace the footsteps of Knowledge, and impartial honesty, and so of Veracity in their very style. And there are few of the judicious Censurers of Historians, but do tell us of far more uncertainties in *Eusebius*, and after in *Nicephorus*, and most that followed, (as far as I am acquainted with such Censurers) than in these two. And if their History be shaken, our loss will not be small. And I doubt not but the Anathematizing and Condemning Spirit hath done hurt, which hath made *Eusebius* an undoubted *Arian*, and *Theodoret*, first a *Nestorian*, and after at the fifth General Council condemned some of his Writings, and imposed it on the whole Christian World to condemn them, though many never heard of them

them, and that made *Ruffinus* (and *Chrysostom*) *Originists*, and *Origen* a Heretick, condemned also by a General Council, and *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*, *Novatians*, *Epiphanius* an ignorant credulous Fabler, *Sulpitius Severus*, and *Beda*, two pious credulous Reporters of many feigned Miracles, and one a *Millenary*, *Nicephorus* a Fabler, *Anastasius Bibl.* full of Falshoods, *Philastrius* an ignorant Erroneous Hereticator, *Cassianus* a *Semi-Pelagian*, *Cassiodori Chronic. est farrago temulentiae inquit Onuphrius Pan. Pene nunquam cum Eusebio convenit inquit Vossius, &c.* I say, Though it be no wrong to the Church to take them for fallible, and such as have mistakes (which the *English Articles* say even of General Councils) yet it wrongfully shaketh all our belief of Church History to call their Credit in matters of fact into question for their Errours or opinions sake, without good Evidence that either they were ignorant, mis-informed or wilfully lied. But if the *Novatians* were more strict & precise than others, it's rather like that they were more and not less credible than others, and made more or not less conscience of a lye. Certainly that which the rest named are charged with is somewhat more as to Historical Credit than to be *Novatians*: So that if these men had been *Novatians*, I should yet say by the Complexion of their History that They are two of our most useful and credible Church-Historians.

§ 5. But when it serveth his turn he can gather out of *Sozomen* that even in *Constantine's* time, *Constantinople* was [*Altogether a Christian City*] Because he mentioneth the great Enlargement of it; and great encrease of Christianity: When as no man that lived could be a fitter judge of the number of Christians in his time than *Chrysostom*: And he that considered that there and every where *Constantine* left all the Jews and Heathens uncompelled to be Christians, yea and used them commonly in places of dignity and Government in City, Provinces and Armies, and that they continued in such power under many Emperours after him, will hardly believe that in *Constantine's* time C. P. had half or a quarter so many Christians as were in the time of *Arcadius* and *Chrysostom*; And yet then *Chrysostom* conjectureth the Christians to be an hundred thousand, and all the City poor half as many, but the Jews and Heathens not to be numbred. See him one *Act 4. Hom. 11.* When he is making the most of their estate and numbers, saith he [*I pray you tell me: How great a number of all sorts of men hath our City? How many Christians will*

will you that there be (That is will you grant, or do you think there be?) Will you that there be *ſing. μυριάδας*, an hundred thousand? But how great is the Number of Jews and Ethnicks? How many pounds of Gold have been gathered? (or Myriads?) And how great is the Number of the Poor? (that is, of the whole City?) I do not think they are above fifty thousand (*Commelin.* hath put an hundred thousand, as *Erasmus* Translation, I ſuppoſe by the Errour of the Preſs.) Now if there was in *Chryſoſtom's* daies but an hundred thousand (which many ſay is not near ſo many as there be in two Pariſhes here, *Martins* and *Strepney*) it is not like that in *Conſtantine's* Time they were half ſo many at moſt. And yet I am far from thinking that there was then no more than uſually met in an Aſſembly, or could ſo meet.

§ 6. The Jeſuites, *Valeſius* and *Sirmondus*, I am no fit perſon to censure. But I am not ſatisfied why their Credit ſhould go as far with me as it doth with him: I have before ſpoke of *Valeſius's* Recording *Grotius* as one that deſigned to bring many with him into the *Roman* Church. And *Grotius* himſelf ſaith, That many of the *Engliſh* Biſhops were of his mind, as Biſhop *Bromball*, and many Doctors by defending him ſeem to be: And yet when I wrote my *Chriſtian Concord*, and *The Grotian Religion*, how many censured me as a Slanderer, for ſaying leſs than *Valeſius* doth. Yet I am falſe with this Hiſtorian, and *Valeſius* is a credible Jeſuite.

And he vouchſafeth to tell us the Judgment of *Valeſius*, that *Eusebius Nicomed.* was no *Arian*, pag. 332. where he ſaith [*Eusebius of Nicomedia was no Heretick in the Judgment of Valeſius: But if he were, he was not an Heretick, becauſe he did not begin the Arch-Hereſie, but followed Arius.*]

What the meaning is of the latter words I know not [*If he were (an Heretick) he was not an Heretick*] I conjecture it is one of the *almost Infinite Errata's* of the Printer: (But he ſuppoſeth my Printer's to be mine own:) But that *Eusebius Nicomed.* ſhould be no Heretick, whom all the ſtream of credible Hiſtorians make to be that Arch-Heretick (I ſay not the firſt) who corrupted *Conſtantine* his Court and Son, which introduced the prevalency of *Arianism* to the *almost Ruine* of the Orthodox Church, is a thing which he that believeth *Valeſius* in, muſt prefer the Credit of one Jeſuite that lived above a thouſand years after, before the whole current of the beſt Hiſtorians of the ſame,

same, and many following Ages. And did I ever so discredit the whole stream of Church-Historians, as on the word of one Jesuite, to bring them under the suspicion of such a Lie? But I confess I am more inclined to believe a Jesuite, and a Prelatist, when they excuse any man of Heresie, than when they accuse him.

§ 7. In the Preface he tells us that [*“Had I consulted Sirmond’s, Edition of the French Councils I must have wanted several Allegations for the Congregational way, which are nothing else but corrupt readings of the ancient Canons of the Gallican Church. Nor can we suspect Sirmond as too great a favourer of Diocesan Bishops, since it is well known how he is charged by the Abbot of S. Cyran under the name of Petrus Aurelius, for having falsified a Canon in the Council of Orange to the prejudice of the Episcopal Order”*] *Jesuites care as little for Bishops as our Protestant Dissenters can do.*] *Answ.* I doubt not but *Sirmond* was a very Learned man, and had not the Conformists divested me of all Church-maintenance, I had been like to have bought his *French Councils*. In the mean time, that notice which others before him gave of the Acts and Canons of Councils, sufficed to my furniture, fully to prove the Cause I maintained: But I confess his pretended reason no whit induceth me to give more credit to a Jesuite than to another man. Though *Albaspineus* was a Bishop, there is so much Judgment and Honesty appears in his Observations, that I would sooner believe him about Episcopacy, than a Jesuite that you say is against it.

But it’s as incredible to me, as the rest of his spurious History, that the *Jesuites care as little for Bishops as our Protestant Dissenters can do*. Sure many of those called Presbyterians and Independents, would have none at all. If this be true, then 1. The Jesuites would have no Bishops of Rome, though they be his sworn Servants. 2. Then they would have no Bishops to be subject to the Pope. 3. Then they would have all particular Churches to be without Bishops, or to be unchurcht. 4. Then they would have Ordination without Bishops. 5. Then they think not that an uninterrupted Succession of Episcopal Ordination is necessary to Church or Ministry. 6. Then they think that Bishops should not confirm. 7. Then they are against the Councils of Bishops, General or Provincial. 8. And against Diocesans Government of the Parish Priests. And yet is a Jesuite a Papist? Wonderful!

Wonderful ! that they will venture their Lives in endeavours for the Church of *Rome*, and that they write so much of and for Bishops Councils, and yet are quite against them.

But if really this be so, you that take me for incredible, who am against but the Corruption of Episcopacy, do allow me to take *Sirmondus* and *Valesius*, and the rest of the Jesuites for incredible, who are as much against the very Office as our Dissenters can be ? But what will not some Historians confidently say ?

CHAP. XVI.

Mr. M's. Observations on my Notes of credible and incredible History, Examined.

§ 1. I. **B**Ecause I suppose that common sound Senses are to be trusted : He 1. Infers that I was asleep, & thought that I saw all that I relate ; that is, He that saith he must believe sense, implies that he seeth all that he reporteth : I am one of the unlearned, and this Logick is too hard for me : Let it be his own.

2. He concludes, *That we must not believe our senses, if they were not Presbyterians but Episcopal that begun the late War* (in *England* :) As if he had seen not only the Parliament (Lords and Commons) then, and the Army then (forty years ago almost) but had seen their Religion, or heard or read them then so profess it : Whereas I cannot learn yet whether he was then born, or of capable understanding, and hath neither sense nor reason for what he saith. The Case that we are in is very sad, when both sides say they have the Evidence of Sense it self against each other ; what hope then of Reconciliation ? They that are yet living, that were Lords, Commons, and Commanders, say their internal Sense and Self-knowledge told them that they were no Presbyterians, but Episcopal ; and their daily converse told them, that their Companions were mostly of the same Religion and Mind. But Young Men that never conversed with them, know them all better, and that infallibly by sense it self.

§ 2. II. Because I say, the History of the Gospel is certainly credible; it is ground enough to say, That *All is not Gospel that I write*; as if I had said it is.

§ 3. III. Because I say, *Prophets were sure of their Revelation*, he saith. *It may be Mr. B. heard a Bene scripsisti*: As if I had pretended to be a Prophet.

§ 4. IV. I said that History is certain even by Natural Evidence, when it is the common Agreement of all men of most contrary Interests, &c. in a matter of fact and sense to all that knew it. To which he saith [*The Superiority of Bishops over Presbyters is acknowledged by Catholics, and Schismatics, and Heretics, men of very contrary minds, dispositions and interests; and yet this Church-History would have us believe the contrary.*]

Ans. This is our credible Historian.

1. He doth not tell us in what Ages it was so acknowledged; when those who doubt of the matter of fact, doubt but some of 100, some of 150, or 200 years: Doth any doubt whether it be so now?

2. He tells us not either what Species of Bishops the question is of, nor what Species of Presbyters, nor what the Superiority was.

3. He speaks without distinction or Exception, and so must be understood to say that *this Church history would have us to believe that even President Bishops Eiusdem Ordinis had de facto no Superiority at all over Presbyters in the same Churches and of the same order with them*, which is an untruth so gross as is no Credit to our Historian. I have named both more than one rank of Bishops whose Superiority *de jure* I deny not: & Popes, Patriarchs, Primates, Diocesans who deposed the Bishops of single Churches, whose Superiority *de facto* I fully enough affirm, in the ages and degrees in which they did ascend.

If he say that he meant it [*Even from the Apostles time, and that of such Diocesans as have scores or hundreds of true Churches and Altars without their particular Bishops, or any Presbyters that were Eiusdem Ordinis with the Bishops, and were Episcopi Gregis, and that had such Power of the Keys over their flocks, as ours have not: or that had so many such Assemblies that were no true Churches;*] if he will be proved a Historian worthy Credit, Let him give us any proof that all men described by him agreed *de facto* that there was so long, such a superiority of such Bishops. But these men

men deride distinguishing, and banish Logick, that is Reason, from their History.

§ 5. V. The next Evidence of certainty which I mentioned, was from [*continued Existent visible Effects which prove their Causes.*] And here this undistinguishing Historian is at it again. *The Superiority of Bishops over Presbyters is proved by the Laws and Customs of all Churches.* This hath the same answer, which I will not repeat. Either it falsly reporteth my denial, or it falsly affirmeth that all Churches in all ages have left us visible Effects of the foresaid species. And I would he would help us that are ignorant therein with such History and Evidence from the begining of the Churches in *Scotland*, and in the Southern and Eastern Countreis that were without the Empire.

§ 6. VI. I said, that History is credible which speaketh consentingly against the known interest of the authors: and therefore I named few testimonies of the sins of Popes and Councils but of those that are their most Zealous Friends. To this he saith that my Characters of ancient Bishops are taken from their professed Enemies, [*as my account of Athanasius, Theophylus, Cyril, and divers others.*]

Ans. 1. My account of *Athanasius* is almost all, if not all, in his praise, and is not an enemies testimony there valid. If I mention the displeasure of *Constantine* against him it is not any Character of him, but of *Constantine* the Agent: Nor do I think *Constantine*, or *Eusebius Caesar*: meet to be numbred with his Enemies; why did he not instance in some words of mine?

As to *Theophylus* and *Cyril*, I do not believe that he can prove that *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, and the Historians that Concur with them, were their Enemies. And if in reciting the Acts of the Councils I recite their Enemies words, so doth *Surinus*, *Nicholinus*, *Binnius*, *Baronius* and all just writers of those acts. And I do not find that *Chrysostom* himself, or *Isidore Pelusiota* had any Enmity to them, nor Pope Innocent neither. Of the rest before.

§ 7. VII. The next degree of credibility that I mentioned is that which dependeth on the Veracity and fitness of the reporter. Of which I named nine things requisite.

Here he supposeth me one that is unfit; and particularly saith [*Whether any hath railed with greater intemperance, and less provocation*] *Ans. 1.* I am not the Author of the History of the mentioned Councils or Popes or Bishops, but the Transcriber. Let me

me be as bad as you, or any of your tribe have made me, that proveth not that *Socrates, Sozomen, Theodorite, Nicephorus, &c.* or *Binnius, Baronius, &c.* have misreported what they write. If I have misreported these authors in any material point, prove it and I will soon retract it.

As for my railing, I expect that title from all such whose faults I name, and call them to repentance: He that calls men to *Repent*, calleth them sinners, and that is Railing be it never so great.

His first instanced railing is Pag. 19. [*A few turbulent Prelates Persecute good men*] He saith thus I call the present Bishops of the Church of *England*; Doth he mean *All or some*? If *All* he is an untrue Historian: He may see many named before my Apology whom I except: And if I have named two I have annexed the proof.

The next is Pag. 46. [*silencing destroying Prelates*] *Ans.* Are there none such? Were not about 2000 here silenced? Do we not continue so and impoverished almost 20 years? Have none perished in prisons or with want? Do men call out for the execution of the Law, and plead for our Silencing as a good work, and take it for railing to have it named? Doth not Conscience recoil in these men when in Pulpits, pews and Conference they maintain it to be a good work, and tell the world how sinful a thing it is for rulers to suffer us out of Gaols? What, are you now ashamed of your meritorious works? Sure they are scant good if it be railing to name them. You will not say I rail, if I call you Preachers. And why do you say so, if I call you *Silencers*, if that be as good?

The next railing is Pag. 73 [*If all the proud, Contentious, ambitious, hereticating part of the Bishops, had been of this Christian mind (to endure each other in small tollerable Differences) What sins, Scandal and shame, what Crimes, confusion and miseries had the Christian world escaped?*] And is this railing? Hath the Christian world had no such Bishops these 1000 years? Have not whole Kingdoms been forbidden all Gods Publick worship by such, even *France and England* among the rest? Is it railing to tell for what little things they not only Silenced men, but burned and murdered many thousands? Were they not proud ambitious Prelates that deposed and abused *Lud. Pius*, and those that in Council decreed the digging all the dead Bishops out of their graves to be burat as Hereticks, who were for the Em-

perours power of Investitures? Do I rail if I say that *Greg. 7.* was Proud and ambitious when he threatened the Prince of *Calaris* with the loss of his dominions, unless he made his Bishop shave his beard? Do not *Jewel*, and all Protestant writers say worse than this of Papist Bishops? Is there any such thing as pride silencing, burning, &c. If yea, must it never be known, reprov'd, repented of and so forgiven to the penitent? And if yea, than how shall it be known without proper names? By what name should I have called *Silencing* but its own and so of the rest? Gods power over Conscience is marvellous that sin cannot endure its own name.

The next railing is the word [*Hereticating.*] And how could I have known if he had not told me that this word is railing? Did not the Bishops take it for a great service of God, and is it railing to name it? It's true I used one word instead of a Sentence for brevity, to signifie the Bishops culpable over doing in proclaiming men Hereticks. He that doth not believe that they did not well, nor do not to this day in Cutting off from the Church of Christ all those whole Countreys of Christians called *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Melchites* and the *Monothelites* and many such I cannot save him from himself who will own all such sin and contract the guilt of it. Hath not Bishop *Epiphanius* made us more Hereticks than he needed? Hath not Bishop *Philastrius* made many more than the Devil himself made? Left this pass for railing once more I will name some of them.

1. *His 11th sort of Hereticks are those that kept Easter-day at a wrong time (as our Britains and Scots did.*
2. *The Millenaries are the 12th (such as many of the antient fathers, and our Mr. Mede, Dr. Twiss, &c.)*
3. *The 27th Offered Bread and Cheese at the oblation.*
4. *The 28th put New Wine in New Vessels in the Church.*
5. *The 29th Put their fingers on their mouths for Silence.*
6. *The 30th thought that all Prophets ended not with Christ.*
7. *The 33d went without shooes.*
8. *The Novatians are the 34th.*
9. *The 41th thought the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by Paul, but by Barnabas or Clemens? and the Epistle to Laodicea by Luke.*
10. *The 42th are the Orthodox Miletians that Communicated with the Orthodox and some Arians too.*

11. The 46th doubted of the diversity of Heavens.

12. The 47th being ignorant that there is another Common Earth invisible, which is the Matrix of all things, do think that there is no Earth but this one.

13. The 48th thought that water was the common matter, and was alwaies, and not made with the Earth.

14. The 49th Heresie denied that the soul was made before the body, and the body after joyned to it: and believed that Gods making them Male and Female first was to be understood of the bodily Sexes: Whereas (saith he) it was the Soul that was made Male and Female, And the Soul was made the Sixth day and the body the 7th.

15. The 50th Heresie thought that not only Grace, but also the Soul itself, was by God breathed into man.

16. The 51st is Origenes (that thought our Souls were first celestial Intellects, before incorporate (as Mr. Glanville and many now.)

17. The 52d thought that brutes had some reason (as Mr. Chambre.)

18. The 54th thought that Earthquakes have a natural Cause.

19. The 55th Heresie learned of Trismegistus to call the Stars by the names of Living Creatures (as all Astronomers do.)

20. The 56th thought that there were not many languages before the confusion of Babel.

21. The 57th Heresie thought that the name of a [Tongue] proceeded first of the Jews or of the Pagans.

22. The 58th Heresie doubted of the years and time of Christ.

23. The 59th thought (as many Fathers) that Angels begat Giants of women before the flood.

24. The 61st was that Christians were after Jews and Pagans.

25. The 62d Heresie saith that Pagans are born naturally, but not Christians, that is, that the Soul and body of men are not daily, Created by Christ, but by Nature.

26. The 63d saith that the number of years from the Creation was uncertain and unknown.

27. The 64th thought that the names of the daies of the week (Sunday, Monday, &c.) were made by God first and not by Pagans, and were named from the Planets.

28. The 66th was that Adam and Eve were blind till God opened their Eyes to see their nakedness.

29. The 67th Heresie imputeth the Sins of Parents to their Children.

30. The 68 Heresie was of some troubled about the Book called Deuteronomy.

31. The 69 thought that those sanctified in the Womb were yet conceived in sin.

32. The 70th Heresie thought that the World had been first divided by the Greeks, Egyptians, and Persians.

33. The 71 thought there was a former Flood under Deucalion and Pyrrha.

34. The 72 saith that men are according to (or under) the 12 signs of the Zodiack, not knowing that those 12 signs are divers Climates, and habitable Regions of the Earth.

35. The 74 Heresie is that Christ descended into Hell to offer Repentance there to sinners.

36. The 75 doubted of the nature of the Soul, thinking it was made of Fire, &c. (as many Greek Fathers did.)

37. The 77 is of Gods hardening Pharaoh, (&c. where he describeth the Dominicans.)

38. The 79 is that the Psalms were not (all) made by David: and it denieth the equality of the Psalms, as if they were not all written and placed in the order that the things were done.

39. The 80 Heresie thought that Gods words to Cain [Thou shalt rule over him] were properly to be understood, whereas the meaning was [Thou shalt rule over thy own evil Thoughts that are in thy own free Will.]

40. The 81 Heresie did not well understand the reason of Gods Words to Cain, giving him Life.

41. The 82 Heresie thought that the Stars had their fixed place in Heaven, and their course, not understanding that the Stars are every night brought out of some secret place, and set up for use, and at morning return to their secret place again, Angels being Presidents and Disposers of them,) (that is, as servants bring Candles into the room at night and take them out again.)

42. The 83 doubted (as some Episcopal Commentators) of the Book of Canticles, lest it had a carnal Sense.

43. The 85 Heresie thought, that the Soul of man was naturally Gods Image before Grace.

44. The 87 Heresie thought, that really four living Creatures mentioned in the Prophets praised God.

45. The 88 Heresie thought that the Levitical Feasts were literally to be understood, not knowing that it was the 8 Feasts of the Church that were meant.

46. The

46. The 90 Heresie preferred Aquila's Translation before the Septuagint.

47. The 91 preferred a Translation of thirty men before the Septuagint.

48. The 92 preferred another Translation of six men before it.

49. Another Heresie preferred the Translation of Theodotion and Symmachus before it.

50. The 94 Heresie preferred the Scriptures found in a Vessel after the Captivity before it.

51. The 96 thought that Melchizedeck had no Father or Mother, not knowing that it's spoken of him as learning that which his Father and Mother never taught him.

52. The 97 hold that the Prophet Zachariah of Fasts, is to be properly understood; when as it is but for the four Fasts of the Church, viz. for Christmas, Easter, Epiphany, and Pentecost.

53. The 98 Heresie holdeth, that Solomon's great number of Wives and Concubines, is literally to be understood; whereas it is meant but of diversity of Gifts in the Church.

54. The 100 Heresie thought that the Measuring Cord in Zachary, was to be understood of measuring Jerusalem literally whereas it meant the choice of Believers.

55. The 101 Heresie not understanding the Mystical Sense of the Cherubim and Seraphim, in Isaiah, are troubled about it, and in doubt (And here he Mystically tells you the Mystical Sense.)

56. The last Heresie thought that one of the Cherubims came to Isaiah, and with a Coal touched his Lips, and that it was an Angel or Animal with Fire; whereas it is the Two Testaments, and the Fire of God's Grace.

To these you may add if you please the Heresie of holding Antipodes, determined by Pope Zachary, by the Mediation of the holy Bishop Boniface, I think an English man. And of what peril it is for Christians to eat Jeyes, and Rooks, and Badgers, and Hares, and Wood horses: And Lard must not be eaten before it is dried in the Smoak, or boiled on the Fire: Or if it be eaten unboiled, it must not be till after Easter: And there must be three great Lamps set in a secret place of the Church, after the similitude of the Tabernacle, which must be kept burning; and at Baptism others lighted by them.

Reader, remember 1. That Philastrius as well as Epiphanius, was a Bishop; 2. Yea and a Saint; whereas very few Bishops
of

of all the Councils had the honour to be Sainted.

Therefore if you say that all these were not Anathematized by Councils; I answer, 1. All these are Registered as Hereticks. 2. And they held (as Mr. *Dodwell* and his Company here do) that he that communicateth with Hereticks, is to be judged a Heretick. 3. And that Hereticks are no parts of the Church.

And forget not above all the *Henrician* Heresie, which determineth not only our King, but many Papist Princes to be Hereticks, for claiming Investitures.

And now Reader, I unfeignedly hate uncharitableness, and therefore deny no good that was in such Bishops: But I must no more be indifferent between Good and Evil, than between Heaven and Hell; nor may I judge Christ a Railer, for saying to his prime Apostle, [*Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offense unto me, &c.*] If the name of [*Hereticators*] that is, too rash pronouncing men Hereticks be railing, I will give thee no Character, censure or name of the aforesaid practice, for I can devise no name which may not be called *Railing*. But judge of it and call it what you see cause.

And again, if you say, These are not the Decrees of Councils, I answer, These are but Flea-bitings to the wounds that the Church hath received from Councils, by Anathematizing.

The next Instance of Railing in these words, which he half repeateth [*Either credible Socrates and others were gross Lyars, or this Patriarch and St. was a downright Knave.*] *Ans.* He himself is so far from denying this, that he makes *Socrates* and *Sozomen* not only Lyars, but Lovers of a Lie; for what they say of *St. Theophilus*: And who is it then that is the Railer? Read the Story.

The next Instance is, p. 95. that I call Bishops the [*Firebrands of the World.*] *Ans.* The words are these [*I take them to be the Firebrands of the World, and unworthy the regard of sober men, who pretend to know mens judgments better than themselves, and allow not mens own deliberate professions to be the notice of their Faith.*] If they will say, that you are Hereticks in heart, though your Tongue and Life profess sound Doctrine, what means hath any man to clear himself against such, and keep from their Inquisition Racks or Flames? Is this Railing?

The next Instance is the Word [*Self-conceited Bishops*] P. 98. Having mentioned the many Logical Niceties necessary to decide

cide the Question between the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, and the Orthodox, I said [*Is it not pity that such Questions should be raised about the Person of Christ, by self conceited Bishops, and made necessary to Salvation, and the World set on fire and divided by them?*] Reader, remember the Division made by it continueth to this day, to the Separation and Condemnation of a great part of the Christian World! And is the name [*self-conceited*] in describing the cause of this a railing? How much worse railers are they that will call a Drunkard a Drunkard, or a Fornicator a Fornicator? Read the sadder words of *Ludolphus*.

The next railing is [*merciless, furious Bishops*, pag. 196] *Ans.* There is no such word: When I find where it is I shall see the occasion of it. *Italy, Piedmont, Ireland, &c.* have tried that there have been such.

The last is pag. 183. [*The Confounders of Churches.*] *Ans.* I thought I had merited of them by my impartiality and lenity: As after I commend the Wisdom & peaceableness of Pope *Honorius*, (though a General Council even for that made him an Heretic,) so I here justly commend the Wisdom and Peaceableness of Pope *Vigilius*, who advised the Council to *leave dead men to God* (*Theod. Mops. Theodorite* and [*this*] *and not damn them when God hath judged them already, and yet not to admit any of their wrong opinions.*) I say [*This was the right way: If they had all dealt as wisely and Christianlike, Councils had not been the Confounders of the Churches:*] Is this railing? At last they forced Pope *Vigilius* to subscribe to them, and it so confounded the Churches, that a great part of *Italy* itself forsook the Church of *Rome* for it, and set up another head against the Pope an 100 Years. Was not this confusion? And must it not be known?

Reader, as far as I understand them, the Paraphrase of these mens words, is [*If we kindle a fire in the Church, name it not, much less call any to quench it: or else we'll say it's you that kindle it: say not you are excommunicate or silenced when you are, though it be by Thousands: else we will prove that you are railers: If we lay you in Gaols and take all you have, do not say, you hurt us, much less you wrong us: take not on you to know or feel when you are hurt: else we will have an Action of railing against you.*]

§ 8. That which followeth I answered before: But after he finds a notable piece of my ignorance, The Pope inviting the
King

King of *Denmark* to conquer a Province of Hereticks, I know not who they were unless they were the *Waldenses*: Well guest, saith Mr. *M. Waldo* was in 1160, 80 Years after. *Ans.* This will serve for men willing to be deceived. It was the *Persons* and *Religion*, and not the name that I spoke of. Doth not he know that *Rainerius* himself saith, that those Persons (called *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and other such names) professed that their way of Religion was Apostolical, and they derived it down from *Silvesters*, that is *Constantines* time? If I did not guess well I wrong no Bishops by it: and I confessed my Ignorance that I knew not whom the Pope meant: And why did not this callent Historian tell us who they were?

§ 9. Next he hath met with my Ignorance for saying *Vienna near France*] which is in the Borders of *France*. *Ans.* 1. Is that any slander of Bishops or Councils? 2. Truly I had many a time read in Councils, that *Vienna* was in *France*, and had not forgot it, if *Ferrarius* and *Chenu* had not also told it me; And whether it was the fault of the *Printer*, or of my *Hand*, or my *Memory*, that put *near* for *in*, I leave it freely to his Judgment, for I remember it not.

And if the manner of *Binnius* naming it made me call *Ordo Prophetarum* in *Gelasius* a Book, it's no wrong to Episcopacy.

CHAP. XVII.

His Censure of my Design, and Church-Principles, considered.

§ 1. **A**S to this his first Chapter I have before shewed how falsely he reporteth my design. He saith he never saw any thing which more reflecteth on Religion: *Lucian* and *Julian* have left nothing half so scandalous in all their Libels against Christians, as this Church-History has raked up: Here is nothing to be seen in his Book but the Avarice, Ignorance, Mistakes and furious Contentions of the Governours of the Church.

Ans. How false that is the Reader may see in all the beginning, the two Chapters in the end, and much in the midst, which are written contrarily to obviate such false thoughts. 2. Is the ascendent sort of Prelates that were growing up to maturity till

Gregory

Gregory the Seventh's daies, the whole Church of God? Are there no other Christians? Is all that is written against the Pope and such Ascendents, written against Christianity? Did Christ speak against Christianity, when he reprov'd them for striving who should be greatest? or *Peter*, when he counselled them, as *1 Pet. 5*. And *Paul* when he said, *I have no man like minded; for they all seek their own things, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's*? Or when he said, *Demas hath forsaken me, &c*? Or *John*, when he said, *Diotrephes loved to have the prebeminence*? Or all those Councils of Bishops which condemned each other, far deeplier than I judge any of them?

What have I said of Fact or Canons, which *Binnius* and their other Flatterers say not? Was it not there extant to the sight of all?

And that I Recorded not all their Virtues, 1. The History of Councils saith little of them. 2. Must no man shew the hurt of Drunkenness, Gluttony, &c. and so of Ambition and Church-corruption, unless he will write so Voluminous a History, as to contain also all the good done by all the persons whom he blameth? I have oft said, that I wondered that instead of so greedy gathering up all the scraps of Councils, the Papists did not burn them all, as they have done many better Books which made against them.

§ 2. I was about to answer all his first Chapter, but I find it so useless a work, that I shall ease my self and the Reader of that labour. 1. He takes on him to answer a Piece of a Disputation written about 23 years ago, whereas I have lately written a Treatise of Episcopacy, with fuller proof of the same things, which he nameth, and takes on him to answer some part of it, and answers not: Till he, or some other, shew me the mistakes of that, let them talk on for me in their little Velitations.

2. Most that is considerable which he saith, is answered already in that Book: As his fiction that *Unum Altare* in *Ignatius*, signifieth not an ordinary Communion Table, &c. And much more out of *Ignatius*, and many more is added, which he saith nothing to.

3. I have before shewed that he goeth on false Suppositions, that I am only for a Bishop of a single Congregation, or against all, and many such; when yet he himself confesseth the contrary,

trary, yea derideth me for making Twelve sorts of Bishops, and being for such as no Party is like to be pleased with.

4 The contradictions and mistakes are so many as would tire the Reader to peruse an answer to them.

And when he hath all done with the numbring of Churches, (over-passing the full proof of the Primitive Form of them which I gave as before) he confesseth that even his great esteemed Jesuite *Valesius*, [*believes that the City Church was but One even in Alexandria, and in Dionysius's time*, p. 64.

And while p. 65. he makes *Petavius* and *Valesius* so much to differ, as to gather their contrary Opinions from the same words, and consequently one of them at least understood them not, I that profess my self not comparable to either of them, specially *Petavius*, in such things, am taken for a falsifier, if I misunderstand a word that concerneth not the matter of the History.

This therefore being not about Church-History so much as against my Opinion of the Antient Government, when he hath answered the foresaid Treatise of Episcopacy, if I live not, some one may reply, if he deal no better than in this.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of his Second Chapter.

§ 1. **P**Ag. 78. He would have men believe that it is Discipline against real Heresie, that I find so much fault with, and ascribe all mischief to---

Ans. Utterly contrary to my most open Profession: It is only making those things to seem Heresie that are none (either Truth, or meer difference of words, or small mistakes,) or curing Heresies by rash Anathema's, without necessary precedent means of Conviction, or by Banishment or Blood.

§ 2. Is this it that you defend the Church for, and we oppose it for? When we would have none in our Churches whom we know not, and that have not personally, if at Age, profest understandingly their Faith. And what is the Discipline that you exercise on Hereticks? It's enough that you know them not,

not, and so never trouble them. Your Talk and Pamphlets truly complain what swarms of Hobbists, Sadduces, Infidels, Atheists, are among us: Do they not all live in the Parishes and Diocesses? Doth the Bishop know them? Are any of them Excommunicated? I could never learn yet how to know who are Members of your Churches: Is it all that dwell in the Parishes? Then all these aforesaid, with Jews and Papists, are in it: And then why are ten parts of some Parishes suffered without *Discipline* to shun the Parish Church-Communion? Is it all that hear you? Then 1. Ten parts in some Parishes, and two or three, or half in others are not of your Church, and hear you not, and many Nonconformists hear you. 2. And any Infidel may hear. Bare hearing was never made a sufficient note of a Church-Member. 3. And how can you tell who all be that hear you in an uncertain crowd? 4. And why doth not your Discipline meddle with constant Non-Communicants?

3. Is it only all that Communicate with you? 1. These are yet fewer, and so the far greatest part of many or most Parishes here are let alone to be no Church members at all, when they have been long Baptized, and no censure by discipline past on them. 2. How know you your stated Communicants, when any stranger may come unquestioned? The truth is, it is Parish discipline which you will not endure. No wonder if you named it *Issachars* burden. *Bucer in scrip. Anglic.* and all the Nonconformists after him long strove for it in vain. It is the hated thing. Were it possible to prevail with you for this, we should have little disagreement about Church Government. But the Popes that have been the greatest enemies of it, have yet gloried in a Discipline to set up their power over Princes and Peoples, and to have their own wills, and tread down all that are against them.

§ 2. To extenuate *Anathematizing* (so very Common with Councils) he tells us P. 81. that [“Let him be Anathema imports no more than that we declare our abhorrence of such doctrines, and will have nothing Common with those that profess them.”]

Ans. 1. We may declare our abhorrence of every known sin and Errour, in such as must not be anathematized. 2. By (nothing) I suppose you mean not [not the same King, Countrey, Earth, Air, &c.] but [not the same Church, the same Christian Communion, familiarity, love, &c.] Whether you mean [not the same

same God, Christ, &c.] I know not. But do you think the Anathematizing Bishops so unreasonable, as to renounce all Christian Communion with men and not tell why? Or to give no better Reason than [*We abhor their doctrine:*] How few Churches or men have nothing worthy to be abhorred, that is, No Errour or sin? And must we renounce Communion with all the Christian world? No, they were not so bad: You use them hardlier than I. They took them to be no true Christians, as wanting somewhat of that faith which is necessary to Salvation, and Essential to a Christian, and so to have made themselves no Church-Members, and therefore are to be sentenced & avoided accordingly.

And how ordinarily do they expound [*Let him be Anathema*] that is [*Cut off from Christ?*] Not only *Hildebrand* so expounds it often, but many before him: Whereupon they commonly agree that an Anathematized Heretick is none of the Church, nor can be saved without repentance.

And indeed to renounce all Communion with Christs true members not Cut off from the Church, is a greater sin than I charge on them. Though familiarity and specially Communion may be suspended, while delay of repentance makes the Case of a sinner doubtful.

§ 3. Pag. 82 He begins himself with blaming Bishop *Victor*, "for Endangering the Peace of the whole Church upon so light occasion. *Valesius* is of opinion, that it was but by letters of accusation.

Ans. I think it could be but by Letters of Accusation, Renunciation, and persuading others to renounce them. For Bishops were not then come up to their Commanding Power over one another. But doth not Mr. *M's.* here rail upon a Bishop, in saying the same of him that I did, if my words were Railing? Thus you shall have him all along confessing much of that faultiness by them, which he takes the mention of by me to be so bad.

§ 4. He nameth many Councils, which he saith I pass lightly over; then sure I say no harm of them. He thinks it is because I could not, as if he knew it were my will. And so I am never blameless.

§ 5. But he hath a notable Controversie against *Baronius*, who thought *Novatus* had been a Bishop (such Errours as *Baronius* was guilty of by Ignorance, are excusable in one so far below him in History as I am.) But I congratulate Mr. *M's.* discovery,

discovery, that he was but a Presbyter: But all confess that he Ordained *Felicissimus* Deacon: And here is a Presbyter Ordaining: But it was irregularly! Let it be so: He saith, that he ought not to have Ordained, but with *Cyprian*, or by his permission. I grant it. But 1. If *Cyprian's* permission would serve, then it was not a work alien to a Presbyter: If a permitted Presbyter may Ordain, a Bishop's Ordination is not necessary *ad esse Officii*; and so that which is a disorder is no Nullity. 2. And it seems by *Novatus's* Act, that the Necessity of Episcopal Ordination was not universally received. And I have not yet met with any that make it more necessary *ad esse Presbyteratus quam Diaconatus*.

§ 6. Next he mentions another *Carthage* Council, where one *Victor* dead, is condemned for making a Priest Guardian of his Child, and so entangling him in worldly Affairs. And he tells you, that all that I can say against this, is the rigour of the Sentence; but he dissembleth, and takes no notice that I mention it in praise of the Bishops of those Times, who were so much against Clergy-mens meddling with Secular Affairs: What odious Puritanism would this have been with us? What I cite in praise, our Historian cannot understand.

§ 7. And that you may need no Confuter of much of his Accusation of me but himself, who so oft saith, I say nothing of Bishops and Councils, but of their faults, &c. he here saith as followeth.

[“ After this he gives a short Account of Councils called on the
 “ Subject of Rebaptization of Hereticks: And here, to do him right,
 “ he is just enough in his Remarks: The generality of the World
 “ was for Rebaptizing Hereticks: And considering what manner
 “ of men the first Hereticks were, it is probable they had Tra-
 “ dition as well as Reason on their side. However, Mr. Baxter
 “ endeavours fairly to excuse these Differences, and speaks of the
 “ Bishops with honour and respect, allowing them to be men of emi-
 “ nent Piety and Worth. Had he used the same Candour towards
 “ others, &c.

Ans. 1. If this be true, a great deal contradictory is untrue.

2. He greatly misreporteth the Controversie: It was not whether Hereticks should be Rebaptized, but those that were Baptized by Hereticks, and taken into their Churches. If a Heretick had been Baptized when found by a sound Minister, and
 after

after turned to Heresie, he was to be restored by Repentance without Rebaptizing; and I think they all agreed in this. But I imagine this was but a lapse of his memory in Writing.

3. But the Question is, Whether the Bishops, whose faults I mention, were of equal Worth and Innocency with those whom I honour and praise? Let the proof shew.

I would he would freely tell us, Q. 1. Whether he think at this day the generality of Bishops (in *Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Poland, the Greek Church, Moscovy, Armenia, Syria, &c.*) are so commendable, as not to be notably blamed? Q. 2. If not, When was it that he thinks they ceased to be generally so commendable? Was it in *Hildebrand's* Time, or any time before? Q. 3. Can you believe that the generality turn from good to bad just in one Age? Or rather that they degenerated by degrees? If they were mostly bad in a thousand, or nine hundred, or eight hundred, can you think that they were not drawing towards it and near as bad a little before; Q. 4. What was it think you in which the Corruption of the Clergy did consist? Was it not most in a proud, domineering worldly Spirit? Is it not that that you blame the Popes for? Was not their Ascent their Corruption? Sure you all agree of that. Q. 5. And did the Papacy Spring up in a year? Did not *Leo* begin to arrogate, and others after him (to say nothing now of those before him) rise higher and higher by degrees as Children grow up to manhood, till in *Greg. 7.* it came to Maturity? I know no Protestant that denyeth this? Q. 6. And can you or any sober man think that in so many hundred years it was only the Bishop of *Rome* that was sick of this disease, and that all or most of the other Bishops were Free? Were they not commonly for ascending with them: Did not they in the East strive to be greatest? And the Bishops of the West strive to rise with, and by the Pope? Were they not, and are they not as his Army? And did he prevail against the Primitive Purity and Simplicity without them? Did not his Councils, and Prelates, as his Armies, do his greatest works? Yea, have they not oft out-done him, and over-topt him in Mischief (as in the deposing of *Ludov. Pius* against his will? say good Historians.)

Tell us then at what Age just we may begin to dispraise the Bishops. And from that time forward, will you not be as great a Railer as I, and scandalize Christianity more than *Lucian* or *Julian*?

§ 8. But

§ 8. But I somewhat marvel that he is again at it (reciting *Dionysius's* words which he thinks I mistook for *Eusebius's*) That he does not condemn the rebaptizing of Hereticks which was a Tradition of so great antiquity: I judge more Candidly of him than he doth of me: Though he so oft repeat it, I will not believe that he knew not, that it was not the baptizing of Hereticks as such, that was the question: but only of those that were baptized by Hereticks. Yet I confess *Eusebius* phrasing it, might tempt one to think so that had not read *Cyprian* and others upon the questions. But when *Eusebius* and *Dionysius* mention [rebaptizing Hereticks] they mean only those that were by Hereticks baptism entered into the Societies and Profession of Hereticks. If the worst Heretick, yea or Apostate, had been baptized, by the orthodox, *Cyprian* and all the rest were agreed against Rebaptizing such when they repented. This *Dionysius* telling *Xystus Rom.* of an ancient Minister that was greatly troubled in Conscience that he had been falsely Baptized by an Heretick (being himself no Heretick) and doubted whether he should not be Rebaptized, yet faith, He told him he durst not Rebaptize him that had so long been in the Church and Communicated, but bid him go on Comfortably in Communion (Much like a forementioned case put to me, by some that never were Baptized, but in our undisciplined Parish Churches had been without knowledge or question admitted long to Communion, whether yet they should be Baptized at all : And *Dionysius's* Reasons against it I cannot answer.

§ 9. And here I may take notice how our new Church-men, (such as *Thorndike*, Mr. *Dodwell* and all their partners) who nullify sacraments delivered by one that hath not Canonical Ordination by a Bishop of uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, do make themselves Hereticks in the sense of the Roman Church which they allow: For 1. Baptism is the first and most necessary Sacrament in their own opinion. Yea *Austin* and too many of old, but specially too many now, take it to be necessary to Salvation; 2. If therefore Baptism be a nullity all that are Baptized in *England*, *Scotland* and all the Protestant Churches by such as had no such Ordainers, must be Baptized again or be damned. 3. If they say, They may be saved without it, then 1. they confess Mr. *Dodwells* Doctrine to be false, that faith none have a Covenant right to Salvation, who have it not by a Sacrament.

ment from such hands. 2. And they renounce the Doctrine of the Necessity of Baptism to Salvation. But if they are for Rebaptizing all such Protestant Countries, as necessary to Salvation, they are uncharitable that do not speak it out.

§ 10. He passeth by Bishop *Stephens* Excommunicating all the Oriental Bishops of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, and Reprobating their Synods, for Rebaptization: Doth he think that even then some Bishops did not rise too fast?

§ 11. The man that is so angry with me for telling of the faults of Bishops and Councils, is pag. 87. angry with me for not saying worse against *Secundus* his Council of Bishops at *Cirta*; and saith, I have not done right to the Catholick Church: I perceive the question is not, whether I may Rail at Bishops, but what Bishops they be that I must Rail at.

As for the Council at *Sinuessa*, I believed the being of it no more than he doth: And when I am but naming the common Catalogue, he might pardon my modesty for saying that the being of it is a Controversie.

§ 12. Of the Council of *Illiberis* he saith but contractedly the same that I do, that *It hath many good Canons, and some that need a favourable Interpretation, and is very severe in some cases*. This measure of just praise and dispraise, is practised by him that is condemning it in me.

§ 13. As to his Controversie, whether Bishops, or such as strove to be Bishops, were the very first movers of the *Donatists* Controversie, who should be Bishop, it's not worth the turning over one Book to search, as to my business.

§ 14. Next he that accuseth me of Railing at Bishops, accuseth me for saying (from some good Authors) that a Bishop of *Carthage*, *Donatus*, was a good man, who he saith was *bad*. It's little to me whether he were good or bad.

§ 15. Next he noteth that I Err with *Binnius* and *Baronius* as to the year of a *Carthage* Council. I undertook not to justify all the Chronology or History that I transcribe: Whether *Optatus*, or *Binnius* and *Baronius* hit on the just year, little care I.

§ 16. I praised a *Donatist's* Council of 270 Bishops at *Carthage* for Moderation, agreeing to communicate with penitent Traditors, without Rebaptizing them, and so doing for 40 years.

Q. What was these mens Heresie?

He

He saith, *This looks liker a piece of Policy than Moderation, for it had no tendency to peace, but to strengthen the Schism.*]

Ans. Who knows how to please men? When they exclaim against Separation if men Communicate with them, they judge it but Policy, that hath no tendency to peace. 2. And who is it now that most railleth at Bishops? I am confuted for praising the moderation of 270 of them, and he is their censurer even when they do well, and their moderation with him is but Policy. Even as they say, of me, that I constantly Communicate with their Parish Churches to undermine them: Near or far off, all's one with this sort of men, if you stick at any thing that they bid you say or do.

But he will not believe that this Council of Orthodox moderate *Donatists* were so many as 270. "*Because 1. we have only the Authority for it of Tychonius a Donatist, 2. It's improbable after Constantine's suppression of them that Schism should so suddenly spread. 3. Lest it should prove the Churches to be too Small: Yet he saith, These Schismaticks set up Churches in every City and Village.*]

Ans. 1. It's said *Tychonius* confesseth this Council, because the later *Donatists* would fain have buried the memory of it: But that it depends only on the Credit of *Tychonius*, I think depends only on your Credit: 2. *Augustine* that reports it, honoureth this *Tychonius*, and reciteth an Exposition of his of the Angels of the Churches, *Rev.* 2. and 3. which I suppose displeaseth you more than his Donatism. 3. It seems you would have believed some stranger that knew it not, rather than a *Donatist* that speaketh against the will and interest of his party. 4. It rather seems that the *Donatists* were the greater number of Christians there before *Constantine's* time, and like the Papists therefore counted themselves the Catholics and the others the Schismaticks. *Constantines* Prohibition did not suppress them. 5. Therefore the numerousness of their Bishops and smallness of Churches, rather sheweth what was the state of the Churches before worldly greatness swelled them to that disease, which was the Embrio or infancy of Popery.

§ 17. Whether the *Donatists* be like the Papists or the Separatists (much less to the Nonconformists) if the Reader will but peruse what I have said and what Mr. *M.* hath said, I am content that he judge without more words.

R

§ 18. He

§ 18. He passeth by divers Councils because he could not say that I blame them: And he passeth by *Constantine's* Epistle to *Alexander* and *Arius*, which *raileth* at them more than I do (in his sence.)

As to the Council of *Laodicea*, it is not two or three such words as his that will make an impartial man believe that the Churches were like our *Diocesses*, when every Convert before baptism was to say his Catechism to the Bishops or his Presbyters: Or that the Command that Presbyters go still with the Bishop into the Church, and not before him, do not both imply that they were both together in every Church.

But he will have it confined to the Cathedral; And when I say, There were long no Churches but Cathedrals, he saith he will not differ with me whether they shall be called *Churches* or *Chappels*. But the difference is *de re*: They say themselves that A Bishop and a Church were then Relatives: And when they have put down many hundred Churches under the *Diocesan*, forsooth they will gratifie us by giving us leave to call them Churches. As if they put down an hundred to one of the Cities and Corporations, and then give us leave, to call them Corporations when they are none. Yet blush they not to make the world believe that they are that Episcopal party (who put down a thousand Churches and Bishops in some one *Diocese*) and I am against Bishops.

Yea when they have not the front to deny but that every City then had a Bishop (that had Christians,) and that our Corporations are such as they called Cities, Yet when we plead but at least, if they will have no *Chorepiscopi*, they will restore a Church and Bishop with his Presbyters to every such City with its adjacent Villages, hatred, scorn and derision goeth for a Confutation of us; Though we do it but to make true discipline a possible thing; Which they call *Issachar's* burden, and abhor it, and then say, It is possible and practised.

§ 19. As to the *Roman* Council which he believeth not, he might perceive that I believed at least their antiquity as little as he: But the Canons are so like those of following Councils that such it's like were sometime made.

And whereas I noted that their condemning them that wrong timed Easter, would fall on the Subscribers to our *English* Liturgy, where 2000 are Silenced for not Subscribing, the man
had

had no better answers to give, than these 1. That *I should have said the Almanack-Makers*. As if he would have had men believe that Falshood, that it was the Almanack Makers and not our Liturgy changers that were deceived.

2. [*Alas ! one year they mistook.*] As if he would Perswade men that their rule faileth but one year, which faileth oft.

3. *The Silenced Ministers have little Reason to thank him or any body else, that giveth this Reason of their Separation. It's strange this should trouble their Consciences that Care no more for Easter than for Christmas, but only that it Falls upon a Sunday.*

Here see his Historical Credibility. 1. Would he perswade men that we give this *Reason alone* ? Or why may it not be one with twenty more ?

2. He intimateth that I give them as reasons of Separation: As if to be *Silenced*, were to *separate*, and to be *passive* were to be *active*.

3. He intimateth that as Nonsubscribers I and such other are Separatists, which is false ; While we live in their Communion.

4. He taketh on him to know our judgment as against *Easter* (but for *Sunday*) when we never told him any such thing.

5. He intimateth that it's no credit to us that we make Conscience of deliberate professing *Assent* to a known untruth in open matter of fact : And if the Contrary be their Credit, I wish they may never be Witnesses against us.

6. He intimateth that a man that is not for keeping *Easter*, is the less excusable, if he will not Profess a known Falshood about the time of *Easter*. If Conscience stood a man in no stead for greater Ends than worldly wealth and ease and honour, who would not be a Latitudinarian Conformist ?

§ 20. Next when I deny belief to these Councils, he blames me for making advantage of the History of them. As if he saw not that I do it, but *ad hominem* to the Papists who record them as if they were really true. For it is principally the Papists (from Infancy to *Hildebrands* Maturity) against whom I write.

§ 21. He next comes to the *Novatians* as my *Favourite* sect, And [*Favourite*] may signifie to the Reader a truth or a *Falshood*.

1. Doth not every Christian Favour them that have lesser Errors more than them that have greater ?

2. Do I not as oft as he profess my great dislike of every sect, as a sect ?

3. Do I not disclaim this Novatian sect and their opinion, and own the Contrary?

4. It seems he taketh me to be too Favourable to some Bishops and their followers: The question is but who they be that must be favoured? I may come to be taken for a Novatian by such men as well as *Socrates* and *Sozomen*.

§ 22. Here (without railing) he bedawbs *Novatus* and *Novatian* to the purpose with *horrid Crimes*, a *Pharisaical Saint*, *Perjured*, and what not? But what! Were they not Episcopal? Yes, he doubts it not: It was for to be a Bishop that *Novatian* wrought his Villanies; (what if I had thus bedawbed the Episcopal?) But yet the very word [*Puritan*] is of use to him. *This*, saith he of *Novatus*, was the tender Conscience of the author of the *Ancient sect of the Puritanes*? Can you tell who the man aimeth at? Is it Nonconformists? *Novatus* & *Novatian* were Prelatists, and never scrupled more Ceremonies than our Prelates impose. Who then can it be but men that in general, though Episcopal, do profess *Tenderness of Conscience*? And there I leave them, without the application.

§ 23. But this Defender of Surgent Prelacy, sticks not to disgrace those whom he seemeth to defend. It was three of the Catholick Bishops that Consecrated *Novatian*, and (without railing) he calls them *Three plain ignorant Bishops*. *These good men suspecting no trick, and overcome with his good entertainment, with too much Wine and perswasions, were forced at last to lay their hands on him and Consecrate him Bishop.* 1. *Ignorant Bishops*; 2. *Overcome with too much Wine*, and entertainment: 3. And with perswasion: 4. To do such an Act as to Consecrate so bad a Bishop, & that in such a city as *Rome*, and that without the Churches choice or Consent. How much worse have I said of Bishops? But, yet [*they were good men.*] But if they had been Nonconformists, what names had been bad enough for them? No doubt if they had been sequestred and cast out (for their too much wine and such ordination) how odiously might the agents have been described as enemies to the Church and Persecutors of good men.

§ 24. Yet further this New Bishop engageth men to him by Oaths, enough to strike a horror in the minds of the Reader, saith he:

See what a man may do for a Bishoprick? It reminds me of many good Canons that forbid Bishops swearing their Clergy to them: And of our *Et Cetera Oath* in 1640 never to Consent to any

any alteration, (to say nothing of our times) and the old Oath of Canonical obedience. It strikes *horror* into mens minds now that we scruple these.

§ 25. He maketh the Novatian doctrine *blasphemous* (without railing) and me too Favourable in representing it. As to that I suppose he is not ignorant how great a Controversie it is what they held, even among the greatest Antiquaries, and Enemies of Schism and Heresie. And I use in accusations to meet with most truth in the most Favourable interpretations.

And here I will tell our Historian, that while I take leave to dissent from his accusation, it shall be but by the authority of those whom I judge as well acquainted with Church Writers and Customs as any that ever Mr. M. or any of his Masters read, not excepting more knowing men than *Valesius*.

The first is D. *Petavius* in *Epiphan. de Cath.* Where first he tells us, that no less nor later men than *most of the ancient Fathers*, and Specially the *Greeks*, mistook *Novatus* and *Novatian* for one, or thought the sect had a single Author; naming *Euseb. Theodoret, Epiphan. Nazian. Ambrose, Austin, Philastrius*, yea and *Socrates*. Yet half as great a mistake in me would have been scorned.

2. Against *Epiph.* and *Theodoret* he saith [*Non ea Novatiani Opinio fuit, eos qui gravioris peccati noxam contraherent, ab omni spe consequenda salutis excludi: Nam & illos ad capeffendam poenitentiam hortari solebant: Et ut Divinam clementiam lachrymis ac sordibus elicerent identidem admonebant: Sed hoc unum negabant; ad Ecclesiae fidelium Communionem recipi amplius oportere: Neque penes Ecclesiam reconciliandi jus ullum ac potestatem esse: Quippe unicam illam peccatorum indulgentiam in illius arbitrio versari, quae per Baptismum obtinetur; which he proveth out of *Socrates, Ambrose*. And he saith, that they were not counted Hereticks for wronging the lapsed, by denying them Communion, but for wronging the Church Power, by denying the Power of the Keyes for their Restitution. (Like enough.)*

The other shall be that excellent Bishop *Albaspineus* *Observ. lib. 2. Observ. 20, 21. p. (mibi) 130, 131.* [*Advertant Novatianorum errorem non in eo positum, quod dicerent neque lapsum, neque excommunicatum in morte à peccatis liberandum; sed hereticos ideo habitos, quod opinarentur Deum ipsum Ecclesiae neque remittendorum neque retinendorum peccatorum capitalium potestatem*
copiamque

copiamque fecisse: Atque hac in eo fuit viguitque eorum heresis, qui quanquam illud consequeretur ex eorum falsa Opinione, ut absolutionem non largirentur, tamen hoc eorum factum non heresis nomine afficiendum erat, neque ad heresin accedebat ob aliam causam quam quod à fonte illo & quasi capite heresin olente dimanarat, eo maxime quod Novatiani crederent id Ecclesiae a Deo non fuisse prae-stitum & concessum; quae causa sola fuit cur praxis illa cen disciplina Novatianorum ratio heresis nomen notionemque non effugeret.]

The Clergy felt their own Interest, and the Novatians denied their Power to retain, as well as forgive capital Crimes, and thought their Keyes extended not so far.

And that the Case of the lapsed was it that they began with, Epiphanius himself and others agree.

And Observ. 19. he shews that Novatianus did this against his former Judgment, in Envy and Faction against the Bishop, because he mist of being Bishop himself. A Bishoprick was it that provoked him to deny this Pardoning Power in Bishops.

And Albaspinus hath in many antecedent Observations shewed, how little, if any thing at all, the Novatians differed else from the Antient Church in the strictness of their Communion, and avoiding sinners: So that he thus begins his fifth Observation [*Incredibilia prope sunt, quae his capitibus dicturi sumus: sed tamen ita vera & certa, & quae cujusque animam summam in admirationem rapiant, Ecclesiam primis temporibus nulla vel levissima labe inquinatam fuisse; quin ita illibatam intactamque ut omni ratione, curâ & sollicitudine prospexerit, filii ut sui quam à Baptismo hauserant puritatem eam nulla aspersam vitii alicujus macula & sceditate conservarent. Imo ea se veritate adhibita ut fugiendum sibi detestandumque peccatum, quovis terrore proposito putarent. Non solum autem multa crimina peccataque numerabantur, quorum Authores artificesque absolutionem omnem desperabant, sed & ea quoque quibus ignoscet poenitentiam concedi oportere censuerat, peccata ita ulcisceretur, ut non nisi semel eis qui ea commisissent, unius poenitentiae copiam faceret Ecclesia, hoc est si post Baptismum lethaliter peccassent. Quod si cum Ecclesia reconciliatus in idem aut aliud mortale peccatum iterum prolaberetur, ita in perpetuum tribus primis saeculis ab Ecclesia repulsam ferebat, ut non nisi poenitentia & in morte precum quae reliqua erant subsidia expectanda sibi duceret, nulla absolutione data quae in spem veniae illum erigeret.]* And he adds, that many that cannot deny his proofs,

proofs, yet will not believe that ever such a Discipline was used.

But this was in the three First Ages : After, when Prosperity and Wealth ticed the ungodly into Bishops Seats, and into the Church, the Case was altered, and as he shews, *Observ. 6.* the Case was so altered to the loose extreme, that Criminals were admitted *toties quoties*. And in his Notes on *Tertullian* he sheweth, that this was a difference between the Orthodox and the Hereticks, that the Orthodox did *diu multumque deliberare quos in societatem ejusdem Ecclesiae, & corporis recipere debeant*; but the Hereticks were ready to take all that came. Yet I suppose not near so loose as those Diocesan and Parochial Churches that know not who comes, but without question take all that will but come to the Rails and kneel : And when by the magnitude of Dioceses and other means, they have secured themselves against the trouble and possibility of Pastoral Discipline, the Priest wipes off all guilt with a word, and saith, If they were Atheists, Hobbists, Sadduces, Whoremongers, common Blasphemers, Drunkards, it's no fault of mine, I know it not ; and no wonder, when he knoweth not who in the Parish are his Flock.

That *Eusebius* himself and others named by *Petavius* mistook the Novatians is no wonder to those who read the volumes of palpable Falshood written against the Nonconformists in this present age, and hear witnesses at the bar swear those Plots and Conspiracies & Treasons against men, from which grave and conscionable Juries quit them.

But me thinks when Mr. *M.* had said that *Socrates is an Historian of good Credit and acquainted with them*] he much forgot his own ends when he recited these words as his [*Some took part with Novatian, and others with Cornelius; according to their several inclinations and Course of life : The looser and more licentious sort Favouring the most indulgent discipline, the other of more austere lives inclining most to the Novatian severity.*] Good still, I now see that the Novatians indeed were Puritanes, though Episcopal, and I accuse not our accusers of any such Heresie. But I confess that I shall believe a Novatian Historian, who being so strict against sin must be strict against a Lie, rather than those that Scorn such Puritanism, and deride the Person that cannot swallow a bigger Pill.

And when Mr. *M.* labours to shew out of *Socrates* that it was

was not only Idolatry that they censured, he labours in vain : It was the *beginning* of their Schism that I mentioned, and not *Socrates* his Age.

As to the judgment of the Council of *Eliberis* and all the three First Ages, I have told you what *Albaspine* saith before. If you can confute him, do ; I am not engaged to defend him ; but I believe him.

§ 26. I conclude this and the former Chapter with this Counsel to the Scorners of Puritanes : Never trust to your Titles and Order, how good soever, without a careful holy obedience to the Supreme Law-giver, either for Concord on Earth, or Salvation in Heaven. True Parish-Reformation is the way to satisfie godly persons better than either Violence or Separation. But if you still obstinately resist Parish-Discipline and Reformation, you must have Toleration of such as will not consent to your Corruption, or else persecute the best to your own ruine. *Theophilus Parochialis* hath said more for Parish Order against the Regulars, and Priviledged, than you have done against the Separatists. And yet the Confraternity of the *Oratorians* set up in every Parish, was the best way he could devise to recover the state of lapsed Parishes : As the priviledging of Fryars was the Pope's last Remedy instead of Reforming his corrupted Church.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Council of Nice and some following.

§ 1. **T**His Historian having put himself into a military posture seemeth to conceit that every word proceeds from an Enemy. And first he feigneth me to make *Constantine* judge that [*the Bishops and Councils were of little use*] when I had no such word or thought, but the contrary.

§ 2. Next he himself confesseth that which I blame those Bishops for ; Even those Libels which they Contentiously offered against one another ; to have raised Quarrels instead of Peace, and which *Constantine* cast altogether into the fire without reading them. And when he confesseth what I say, is he not a Railer at the Bishops as much as I in that ?

As

As to his excuse that [*It is no wonder considering their great dissensions in Religion, &c.*] I easily grant it : But in this excuse he saith yet more against them.

§ 3. Because I said that *Athanasius* differing from *Constantine* about the reception of *Arius* his repentance [*Caused much Calamity*] he feigneth me heinously to accuse *Athanasius* which I intended not : Even a just action may [*Cause Calamity*] as Christ saith his Gospel would bring division. All his labour in justifying *Athanasius* fighteth but with a spectre of his own imagination. And yet I am inclined to think that if an Hypocrite *Arius* had been connived at to please such an Emperor, the death of *Arius* would have left the Church quieter than it did; though he here thinks greater rigour had been safer : And I think multitudes of Sadduces, Infidels and debauched Persons in one of our Diocesses, yea or Parishes, is worse than one *Arius* while Hypocrisie restrained him from Venting his opinion.

§ 4. And here he that dreamed I accused *Athanasius*, really accuseth *Constantine* as imposed on by a Counterfeit Repentance and restoring the incendiary to opportunities of doing mischief, and being against the means that might have ended that fatal mischief. But I confess *Constantine* was no Bishop, and therefore this is not an accusation of Bishops or a railing at them.

§ 5. Next when I had fully opened the Case of the *Meletians* out of *Epiphanius* on pretence of abbreviating, he leaves out that which he likes not, and tells us how the Nonconformists have advantaged the Papists : If I thought the man believed himself I would try to undeceive him : In the mean time I desire him to think again which party most befriends the Papists ; “ They
“ that are for a reconciliation with them on these terms, that
“ there may be acknowledged an Universal supreme human
“ Power over all the Church on Earth, and the Pope to be *Prin-*
“ *cipium Unitatis* and Patriarch of the West, and he shall abate us
“ the last 400 years Impositions, and all be accounted Schisma-
“ ticks that unite not into this Church ; and that all the
“ Preachers in *England* shall be silenced that will not swear, pro-
“ mise, profess, and practise all that which is here imposed on
“ them, though they think it heinous sin, and others think it but
“ matter indifferent, and all the people shall be prosecuted that
“ hear them ; and that this Division shall rather weaken the
“ Kingdom, and advantage the Papists, than the Consciences
“ of

“ of men, as wise and faithful as themselves shall be eased of
 “ such Impositions, or they suffered to Preach the Gospel of
 “ Christ : Or those that being condemned to such Silence, Pri-
 “ sons and Ruine, had rather be delivered, though a Papist be
 “ delivered with them, than be destroyed.] Methinks we are
 used by these Church-Fathers, as if they should determine that
 a great part of the Protestants who are most against Popery,
 shall be hanged, unless the Papists will beg their pardon, or cut
 the Rope; which if these Protestants accept, they shall be said
 to be the Promoters of the Papists.

§ 6. As for all his Exceptions against *Epiphanius*, they are no-
 thing to me, who did not undertake to justify his words, but
 transcribe them; nor think it worth my labour now to examine
 the Case of so small concernment.

§ 7. When some have blamed me for condemning the *Arians*
 too much, he saith, that I say somewhat very much to the dis-
 advantage of the Doctrine of the Trinity, but he was so gentle
 as not to tell what it was, unless it be telling what *Petavius* the
 Jesuite saith: About that I am wholly of his own mind. But
 the expresse words which *Petavius de Trinit.* citeth out of all
 those Old Fathers, cannot be denied: And verily they are so
 many, and so gross, that unless his Argument satisfied me, viz.
 [The Votes of the Council of Nice shewed what was the Common sence
 of the Church, better than the words of all those Fathers] I should
 think as *Philostorgius* in point of History, that there were no suf-
 ficient confuting of the *Arians* from those Fathers, though some-
 times they have better words. Visible words cannot be denied,
 even where they must be lamented. That's the difference be-
 tween Mr. M's. Opinion of History and mine.

§ 8. As to the *Audians*, I recite but *Epiphanius's* words,
 who in other cases is greatly valued by these Accusers: They
 will believe what he saith of *Aerius*. And as to what he saith
 to the contrary out of *Theodoret*, he may see that he saith all
 by hearsay, and saith, that *They hid* that which he accuseth them
 of, and were Hypocrites, professing too much strictness, l. 4.
 c. 9. which is still the common way of accusing the best, against
 whom instead of proveable faults, they turn their strictness
 into a crime. *Epiphanius* is much more particular than *Theodoret*
 in the story.

§ 9. The rest which he noteth of my words of the Council
 of

of *Nice*, have nothing needing a reply. *Petavius* hath fully proved that the *Chorepiscopi* were true Bishops. But now we are odious Presbyterians if we would but have a Bishop in every City, that is, Corporation, Desiring only that Discipline might become possible. And for this we are proclaimed to be against Bishops; that is, saith this sort of men; They that would have but One Bishop over a thousand, or many hundred, or score Churches, are for Episcopacy; and they that would have every Church have a Bishop, as of old, or at least every great Town, and so would have twenty, or forty, or a hundred for one, are against Episcopacy: And that which is strange is, These men are believed.

§ 10. I praised the Council of *Gangra* for condemning some Superstitions, and he saith, I have nothing against it: Whether it be a *Common Mistake* that *Arius* was here received to Communion, I'll not stay to examine.

§ 11. When he hath weighed all he can for the Synod at *Antioch*, he is forced to confess that they were a packt company of Bishops, that complied with *Constantius* and *Eusebius's* Contrivance. And what do I say worse of them than he? As to the Canon against Priests or Deacons not gathering Assemblies against the Bishops will, I am for it as much as he, if the Bishops and Churches be such as they were then; but not in *France* nor *Italy*.

He saith, *I leave my sting behind me, and end very angrily*; for these only words [*This is their strength*] mentioning the Councils (that was against *Atbanasius*) suppressing Dissenters as seditious by force. I see angry men think others angry when they are, and are stung if we do but name their stinging us: As if Prisons and Ruine were not so sharp a sting as these four words. If it be not their strength, why do they so trust to it, as to confess that their Arguments and Keyes would do little to uphold their Prelacy without it. In the daies of the Usurpers I moved for a Petition, that when they granted Liberty of Conscience for so many others, they would grant Liberty for the full exercise of the Episcopal Government to all that desired it. But the Episcopal Party that I spake to, would not endure it, as knowing what bare Liberty would be to their Cause, unless they could have the Sword to suppress those that yield not to their Reasons.

§ 12. Next he saith, I spare my Gall for about a dozen
S 2 times,

times, not regarding how it contradicts his former Accusations.

But whereas I recite the horrid Accusations of the Council at *Philippopolis* against *Athanasius*, *Paulus* and *Marcellus*, of open Matters of Fact, as Murder, Persecutions, Burning of Churches, Wars, Flames, Dragging Priests to the Market-place with Christs Body tyed about their necks, stripping Consecrated Virgins naked before a concourse of People [and offering to send messengers on both sides to Try the Fact, and to be themselves condemned if it prove not true] he is offended that I seem staggered at this, *Athanasius* having detected before so many Subornations, &c.

Ans. I did not say that I was staggered, much less doubted which of them did the wrong : But that a Reader may by such a Temptation be astonished, and confounded whom to believe. But did I ever rail more at Bishops than he here doth ? What
1. So great a number of Bishops, 2. Deliberately in Council,
3. To affirm so vehemently, 4. Such matters of open Fact,
5. And offer it to the Trial of Witnesses of both sides; and all this to be false, 6. And to be but the consequent of former Subornations and Perjury ; can you name greater wickedness ?

Obj. But they were *Arians*. *Ans.* But they were Bishops. The worse for being *Arians*. 2. Yet called but *Semi-Arians*, and renounced *Arius*, and pretended Reconciliation. 3. And they were the Oriental part of the Council at *Sardica*, called *General* by the Papists. 4. And they were believed against *Marcellus* by *Basil* and *Chrysostom* : But all that I cite it for, is to tell the Reader what a doleful case the Church was fallen into, by the depravation of the Bishops. Did none of these profess before to be Orthodox ? I do not say that it was *quatenus* Bishops that they did all this, but that multitudes of Bishops were then become the shame and calamity of the Church.

§ 13. Next he scorningly accuseth me for giving too soft a Character of the *Circumcellians*; and saith, *My Moderation and Charity may extend to John of Leyden*. And he calls them *The Most barbarous and desperate Villains that ever defamed Christianity by assuming the Title.*

Ans. 1. This is the man that saith I rail. I named so many and great sins of theirs, that I little thought any Reader would have thought that I spared them too much. 2. Yet they were *Donatists*, and of them *Optatus* himself saith, *lib. 5.* [*“ Apud vos*

“ & apud nos Una est Ecclesiastica conversatio; Communes Le-
 “ Etiones: Eadem Fides; ipsa Fidei Sacramenta, eadem myste-
 “ ria] that is, saith *Albaspine* [*Una Ecclesiastica disciplina: Eo-*
dem modo Scripturas Explicamus: Ipsa Regula Fidei: Idem My-
sterium quod confertur & significatur, & eadem res visibilis per
quam res spiritualis datur] in lib. 5. p. 153.

And saith *Optatus*, lib. 1. [*Nequis dicat me inconsiderate eos*
fratres appellare, qui tales sunt. Quamvis & illi non negent &
omnibus notum sit, quod nos odio habeant, & execrentur, & nolunt
se dici fratres nostros; tamen nos recedere à timore Dei non possu-
mus--sunt igitur sine dubio fratres quamvis non boni: Quare nemo
miretur eos me appellare fratres, qui non possunt non esse fratres.

Obj. But the *Circumcellians* were worse than the rest.

Ans. They were of the same Religion, but the unruly fu-
 rious part in their practice: And *Optatus* saith, Though they
 would rail in words [*sed unum quidem vix invenimus cum quo*
per literas, vel hoc modo loquatur:] And so goes on to call *Par-*
menian his Brother. And it's worth the consideration how much
Albaspine includeth in *Fraternity*; note first, & in *Observat.*

3. And they were Orthodox fierce Prelatists, doing all this
 for the preheminance of their Bishops. And what if some Pre-
 latists now should hurt their Brethren more than the *Circumcel-*
lians did, must I call them therefore the most barbarous Villains
 that ever defamed Christianity. *Augustine* saith, They made a
 Water of some Salt or sharp thing, and cast in mens Eyes in the
 night in the streets: No man can think that this barbarous
 action was done by the most, or any but some furious fools:
 They say that they would wound themselves to bring hatred on
 the Catholicks, as if they had done it, or drove them to it: He
 that knoweth what Self-love is, will believe that this was the
 case but of a few; and an easier wrong than some that abhor
 them do to their Brethren. And must we needs Rail indeed a-
 gainst such numbers of hurtful Prelatists? What if any rude per-
 sons of your Church should be Whoremongers, Drunkards,
 Blasphemers, and seek the Imprisonment of their Brethren, yea
 their Defamation and Blood by Perjury, should the Church
 be for their sakes so called, as you call them? I speak them no
 fairer than *Optatus* did.

§ 14. When p. 57. I commend the many good Canons of the
African Councils, and the faithfulness of the Bishops, he noteth
 none

none of this, because it proveth the untruth of his former Accusations.

And when I name twenty five or twenty six more Councils of Bishops, some General, and some less, which were for Arianism, or a compliance with them, he defendeth none of them, but excuseth them, and saith, that [*they were not much to the honour of the Church: Yet the evil Edicts and Consequences of them are rather to be charged on the Arian Emperour, than the Bishops.*]

Answ. 1. This is the same man that elsewhere so overdoes me in accusing the *Arians*.

2. The Emperour was Erroneous, but said to be otherwise very commendable. And is it not more culpable for Bishops to Err in the Mysteries of *Divinity*, than a Lay-man? And for many hundred to Err, than for *One Man*? And do you think that the Bishops Erring did not more to seduce the Flocks, than the Emperour's?

But he saith, that [*If many fell in the Day of Tryal, they are rather to be pitied, than insulted over, for we have all the same infirmities, &c.*]

Answ. I wrote in pity of them and the Church, without any insulting purpose. If any now to avoid lying in Prison, and starving their Families, by Famine, should surrender their Consciences to sinful Subscriptions after a Siege of Nineteen years, I shall pity them, and not insult over them. Nay, if I speak of those that lay the Siege, and call out for more Execution, I do it not insultingly, but with a grieved heart for the Church and them.

But when I largely recited *Hillary's* words of them, he saith, [*The Account is very sad*] (and what said I more?) But, saith he, yet such as shews rather the Calamity, than the Fault of the Bishops.]

Answ. Nay then, no doubt, it's no fault to Conform. *Hillary* then, and all that kept their ground, were in a great fault for so heavily accusing them. And so the World turned *Arians* in shew (as *Hierom* and *Hillary* speak) is much acquit, and the Nonconformists are the faulty Railers for accusing them. It had been enough to say, *It was no Crime*; but to say, *no Fault*, is too gentle for the same man that so talkt of Perjured *Arians* before.

§ 15. Yet because he is forced to confess that it was most by far of all the Bishops, even in Councils (he of Rome not excepted)

cepted) that thus fell, he must shew how it offended him to be forced to it, by telling the world how contentious *I have been against all sorts and Sects* (the first is false, and he knows it I think, and the latter is true formally of a *Sect as such*; even his own *Sect*.) And some judge me such a stranger to Peace, as to need a Moderator to stand between me and the Contradictions of my own Books.]

Ans. Yes, the Bishops Advocate Roger L'Estrange, where nothing but gross ignorance, or malice, or negligence, could have found Contradictions, were the whole places perused. And where I am sure my self, that there is none; I have somewhat else to do than to write more, to shew the Calumnies of such Readers. Who most seeks Peace, you, or those that you prosecute? One would think it should not be hard to know if men be willing.

CHAP. XX.

Of the first General Council at Constantinople. His Cap. 4.

§ 1. **H**E begins with accusing me of imitating the Devil; Doth Job serve God for nought? because I say that [the reason why the West was freer from the Arian Heresie, than the East, was not as the Papists say, that Christ prayed for Peter, that his Faith might not fail, but because the Emperours in the West were Orthodox, and those in the East Arians: And the Bishops much followed the Emperour's will.]

What, saith he, can be more unchristian?

Ans. 1. I never said that this was the Only Cause.

2. I proved that this Priviledge of Rome was not the meaning of Christ's Prayer.

3. Is not this the same man that even now laid the fall of far more Bishops, even most in the World, on the Emperour, as overcoming them by force and fraud?

4. Doth not God himself keep men usually from strong temptations, when he will deliver them from sin?

5. Were not the Eastern Bishops, and the Western, of the same mold and temper? And if the Eastern followed the Emperours,

rours, had not the Western been in danger if they had the like temptation?

6. Doth not *Basil* that sent to them for help, complain of them as proud, and no better than their Brethren?

7. Did not *Marcellinus* fall to Idolatry, and *Liberius* to subscribe against *Athanasius* with the *Arians*?

8. Did not the West actually fall to Arianism when tempted for the most part? Judge by the great Council at *Milane*, and by *Hillary's* complaints.

9. Hath *Rome* and the West stood faster to the Truth since then? What! all the Popes who are by Councils charged with Heresie or Infidelity, and all wickedness, and those many whose Lives even by *Baronius* and *Genebrard*, are so odiously described? Is the West at this day free from Popery and its fruits?

10. Do you think in your conscience that if we had not here a Protestant King, but a Papist, many of the Clergy would not be Papists? Why then are they so in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Poland*, &c? And why did the most of them turn in *Qu. Mary's* daies? I do not insult, but lament the Churches Case, which ever since Wealth and Honour, and too much Power corrupted it, have had Bishops far more worldly, and less faithful than they were the first three hundred years. Though I still say that ever since, God hath in all times raised some serious Believers that have kept up serious Piety in the Church: And as I doubt not but there are so many such among the Conformists, as is our great Joy, so I hope that, though foully blotted with Superstition and Errour, there are many such among the Papists themselves.

§ 2. Yet he saith, *I do the Bishops Right again, without thinking of doing them Justice, while I tell how many were murdered.*

Ans. 1. Doth he know my thoughts? 2. It's true I intended not to do any other Justice, than to praise Christ's Martyrs and Confessors, while I lament the Case of Persecutors and Revolters? Is the praise of Confessors any honour to the Hereticks?

But perhaps he means, I right the Order of Bishops. *Ans.* Did I ever say or think that there were no Bishops that kept the Faith? Do I say All fell, when I say Most fell? The Man speaks as his imagined Interest leads him, and so interpreteth my words to his own sense, not as written. And if that be the
right

right way, I think he will grant that there were more Martyrs and Sufferers under *Valens, Constantius, Hunnericus, and Genfericus*, in the East, and in *Africk*, by far, than were when their Tryal came in all the West that is now subject to the Pope. And what moved the man to dream that when I so describe and praise their constancy in Suffering, I did it as at unawares?

That the greater part of the Bishops of the Empire were *Arians*, I will not offer by Testimony to prove, when it is so commonly by Fathers, Historians, by Papists and Protestants agreed on. How many of them were Bishops before, and how many but Presbyters or Deacons, I'll not pretend to number. The turning of multitudes all agree on. The Constancy of many he falsely intimateth that I deny, and saith, *I injuriously represent them*, and cannot tell a word wherein that Crime is found.

§ 3. Naming the things that were done by the Council at *Constantinople*, I mention both the setting up, and after the putting down of *Gregory*; & lest any Caviller should carp at the word [*putting down*] I presently open particularly what it was that they did toward it; that resolving on his deposition, they caused him, though unwilling, rather to give it up, than stay till they cast him out. This great Historian had no more manlike an Exception here, than to say, that against all History, and against my own Explication, I say that [*They Deposed him.*] I said [*They put him down*] in the manner, and as far as I explained.

§ 4. While he here himself accuseth the *Times* then of *General Corruption*, and the *Church of Divisions*, adding, [*What Age hath been so happy as not to labour under those Evils?*] he accuseth me of making misuse of *Gregory's* words, to represent the Council in an odious manner.

Answ. It is to represent the worser part in a lamentable manner, as far as *Gregory* did, and no further. And as to his quarrel at my citation, I shall say no more; but if the Reader will but read *Gregory's* own words, I willingly leave all that Cause to his Judgment: If he will not, my words cannot inform him.

Yet he himself saith [*He doth indeed in several places find fault with this Council*] And can you forgive him? I think I find no more than he did. But for this you find fault with him [*He did resent the Injury (And was it an Injury?) and did not bear the deprivation of his Bishoprick with the same generosity he proposed, which made him a little more sharp than was decent in his representation*]

*sentation of the Bishops---What wonder if sharpened with discontent, he exclaim with somewhat too great a passion against the administration of the Church which he had been forced to quit] Ans. All will be confest anon, when I have been accused for saying it before him : That's his way. But it was not for leaving a high and fat Bishoprick that he was grieved, but for being separated from the People that he had partly served in their lower state, and partly won from Heresie, and who came about him with tears intreating him not to forsake them. And though it were more than generosity to set light by the Honour and Wealth, it is treachery to set light by Souls : And they changed to their great loss. He resigned much to quiet the People lest they should do as they did for *Chrysostom* after him. It is no new thing for the Major vote of the Clergy to Envy those few that are better and more esteemed than themselves, nor yet for the Godly People to be loth to leave such pastors.*

§ 5. He saith [*His censure of Councils that he knew none of them that have any happy End, was not the fault of the expedient, but of the men*] Ans. And what did I ever say more. It is his custom when he hath stormed at me, to say in Effect the same that he stormed at. Some Papists would persuade men, that it was only *Arian* Councils that he meant, but most Protestants that Write about Councils against them, do cite & vindicate these words of *Gregory* : And the impartial Papists confess that it was the Councils also of the Catholics that there and else where he spake of.

§ 6. In the Case of *Meletius*, and *Paulinus*, two Bishops in a City, and the Case of *Lucifer Calaritanus* made a Heretick for separating from lapsed *Arians*, he saith over the same that I do; that good men cannot rightly understand one another, and so it ever hath been, and it's the Effect of humane frailty and not Episcopacy. In all this I agree. But 1. If humane frailty make Bishops swell in pride and ambition, and domineering, it hath far worse Effects than in other men : 2. And Bishops are bound to excell their flocks in Piety, humility, Selfdenyal, peaceableness, as well as in knowledge. If the Physicians of this city should prove unskillful, and yet confident where they err, it is not *quatenus* Physicians that they are such : But if it be *qui* Physicians that are such, they may kill thousands, while the same faults in all their neighbours may kill few or none. If your Interest made you not smart and angry without cause, you would not cavil against such plain truth.

§ 7. About

§ 7. About the Priscillianists he saith [*I all along observe this Rule, to be very favourable to all Hereticks and Schismaticks be they never so much in the wrong, and to fall on the Orthodox party and improve every miscarriage of theirs into a mighty crime.*]

Ans. If all along this accusation be false, then all a long your History serveth such a use. But in *France, Spain, Italy*, he is favourable to Hereticks that takes not the orthodox for such, or that is not for racking and burning them. And in *England* he is favourable to Schismaticks that taketh not the greatest lovers of Piety and peace for such, and the Church Tearers for Church-Healers : As *Mr. Dodwell* phraseth it, they are Schismaticks that suffer themselves to be excommunicate (for un sinful things in the Bishops account, and heinous sin in theirs ; and so that are not so ripe in Knowledge, as to know all the un sinful things to be such which may be imposed.

§ 8. What would this enemy of railing have had me said more than I did of the Priscillianists ? *viz.* that they were *Gnosticks and Manichees* ? Was not that bad Enough. No, I favour them still ? And what say I more of the Bishops and the whole cause, than *Sulpitius Severus* the fullest and most knowing Describer saith ? Why doth he not accuse him for the same description ? Yea and their *Mr. Ri. Hooker* who in the Preface to his *Eccl. Pol.* saith of *Ithacius* the like ? Yea *Baronius* himself consenteth ? Where I say that to the death *Martin* separated from the synods of these Bishops (I said not from all Bishops in the world) he saith, he renounced only the Communion of *Ithacius his Party*, and that others did as well as he. Reader, it will be thy folly to take either his word or mine, what an Author saith, when we differ, without looking into the Book it self. Read *Sulpitius Severus* ; I will transcribe some words, lest he say, I mistranslate them.

“ *Priscillianus, familia nobilis, prædives opibus, acer, inquires,*
 “ *facundus, multa lectione eruditus, differendi & disputandi prom-*
 “ *ptissimus--vigilare multum, famem & sitim ferre poterat, habendi*
 “ *minime cupidus, utendi parcissimus* (Was it a crime to say so
 “ much good of him ?) But proud of his Learning, set up a He-
 “ resie, and two Bishops *Instantius* and *Salvianus* ioyned with
 “ him, and made him a Bishop--At *Cæsar Augusta* one Synod
 “ was gathered against him. The Story I before recited. Next
 “ a Synod at *Burdeaux* tryeth them. Saith *Sulpitius* [“ *Ac mea*
 “ *quidem*

"quidem sententia est, mihi tam reos quam accusatores displicere.
 "Certe Ithacium nihil pensi, nihil sancti habuisse definitio: fuit enim
 "audax, loquax, impudens, sumptuosus, ventri & gula plurimum
 "impertiens. Hic stultitia eo usque processerat ut omnes etiam
 "sanctos viros, quibus aut studium erat lectionis, aut propositum
 "erat certare jejuniis, tanquam Priscilliani socios aut discipulos in
 "crimen arcesseret. Ausus etiam miser est ea tempestate Martino
 "Episcopo---palam objectare heresis infamiam. Imperator per
 "Magnum & Rufum Episcopos depravatus à mitioribus consiliis de-
 "flexus. --So he tells how many were put to death. --Cæterum
 "Priscilliano occiso, non solum non repressa est heresis-- sed confir-
 "mata, latius propagata est: Namque sectatores ejus qui eum
 "prius ut sanctum honoraverant, postea ut Martyrem colere cæpe-
 "runt. Ac inter nostros perpetuum discordiarum bellum exarserat,
 "quod jam per quindecim annos sædis dissensionibus agitatum,
 "nullo modo sopiri poterat. Et nunc cum maxime discordiis Epis-
 "coporum turbari aut misceri omnia cernerentur, cunctaque per eos
 "odio aut gratia, metu, inconstantia, invidia, factione, libidine,
 "avaritia, arrogantia, somno, desidia, essent depravata: Postremo
 "plures adversus paucos bene consulentes, insanis consiliis & perti-
 "nacibus studiis certarent: Inter hæc Plebs Dei, & Optimus quis-
 "que probro atque ludibrio habebatur.] So ends Sulpitius History.

Do you not see, Mr. Morrice, that there have been Prelates
 and Puritanes, even Episcopal Puritanes before our Times? Doth
 not your stomach rise against Sulpitius as too Puritanical and
 severe? Is not my Language of most of the Bishops soft in com-
 parison of his? Yet he was so early as to live in that which
 you now call the most flourishing Time of the Church. Sir, I
 hate Discord, and love Peace; but I never look that the En-
 mity between the Woman's and the Serpent's Seed, or Cain and
 Abel, should be ended; or that the holy Title of Bishops and
 Priests should reconcile ungodly men to Saints. Sir, England
 knoweth, that though some factious persons have done other-
 wise, the main Body of those that your Law doth Silence,
 Ruine and Revile, have a high esteem of such Bishops as have
 been seriously godly; such as were many in Ancient and late
 Times: And deride it as long as you will, the seriously religious
 People in England are they that are most against Church-Ty-
 ranny, and which Party most of the debauched and prophane
 are of, hath long been known.

§ 9. But the Reader shall further hear how little you are to be trusted. Saith Sul. in *Vita Mart.* [*Apud Nemausum Episcoporum Synodus habebatur ad quam quidem ire noluerat---*(There's another Synod.)

Et pag. 584. In *Mon. Pat.* [*“ Maximus Imperator alius vir
 “ bonus, depravatus consiliis Sacerdotum, post Priscilliani necem
 “ Ithacium Episcopum Priscilliani accusatorem ceterosq; illius socios,
 “ quos nominare non est necesse vi regia tuebatur.---Congregati apud
 “ Treveros Episcopi (there's another Synod) tenebantur, qui quotidie
 “ communicantes Ithacio communem sibi causam fecerant: His ubi
 “ nunciatum est inopinantibus, adesse Martinum, totis animis la-
 “ besacti, mussitare & trepidare coeperunt.---Nec dubium erat quin
 “ Sanctorum etiam maximam turbam tempestas ista depopulatura
 “ esset. Etenim tunc solis oculis discernunt inter hominum genera,
 “ cum quis Pallore potius aut Veste, quam fide, hereticus aestimare-
 “ tur. Hac nequaquam placitura Martino Episcopi faciebant.---
 “ Ineunt cum Imperatore Consilium ut missis obviam Magistri of-
 “ ficialibus, urbem istam (Martinus) vetaretur propius accedere.
 (But it was not five Miles from all Cities and Corporations.)---
 “ Interea Episcopi quorum communionem Martinus non inibat tre-
 “ pidi ad Regem concurrunt, per damnatos se conquerentes actum
 “ esse de suo omnium statu, si Theognisti pertinaciam, qui eos SO-
 “ LUS palam lata sententia condemnauerat, Martini armaret au-
 “ thoritas: Non oportuisse hominem capi mœnibus illis: Non jam
 “ defensorem hereticorum esse, sed vindicem (Methinks I read Mr.
 “ Morrice) Nihil actum morte Priscilliani si Martinus exerceat
 “ illius ultionem. (These men have done nothing till they
 “ have destroy'd all that are against their Tyranny.) Postremo
 “ prostrati cum fletu (they could weep too) & lamentatione Po-
 “ testatem Regiam implorant, ut utatur adversus UNUM homi-
 “ nem vi sua: Nec multum aberat quin cogeretur Imperator Mar-
 “ tinum cum hereticorum sorte miscere.] But the Emperour know-
 “ ing his eminent Holiness and Reputation, tryeth persuasion;
 “ [& blande appellat, hereticos jure damnatos, more judiciorum
 “ publicorum, potius quam in sectationibus Sacerdotum: Non esse
 “ causam qua Ithacii ceterorumq; partis ejus communionem, puta-
 “ ret esse damnandam, Theognistum odio potius quam causa, fecisse
 “ dissidium; Eundemq; tamen SOLUM esse qui se à communionem
 “ interim separavit; a reliquis nihil novatum.] You see here that
 “ M.M. saith truly, that Martin separated but from the Bishops
 “ of*

“ of *Ithacius's* Party: That is, All save one *Theognistus* (and
 “ *Iginus* is elsewhere named.) Is not here a great accord of the
 Bishops?) [*Quinetiam paucos ante dies habita Synodus* (Sy-
 “ noas still) *Ithacium pronunciauerat culpa non teneri*] no won-
 “ der: Synods have justified the forbidding of two thousand to
 “ Preach the Gospel.) At last when no other Remedy could
 “ save the Lives of men from the Leeches, *Martin* yielded once
 “ to communicate with the Bishops on condition the mens
 “ Lives should be saved: The Bishops would have had him
 “ Subscribe this Communion: But that he would never do. [*Pos-*
 “ *terodie inde se proripiens, cum revertens in viam mæstus ingemisce-*
 “ *ret, se vel ad horam noxia communioni esse permixtum--sub-*
 “ *sedit, causam doloris & facti accusante & defendente cogitatione*
 “ *pervolvens, astitit ei repente Angelus; Merito inquit Martine*
 “ *compungeris, sed aliter exire nequisti: Repara virtutem: resume*
 “ *Constantiam; ne jam non periculum gloria, sed salutis incur-*
 “ *reris. Itaque ab illo tempore satis cavit, cum illa Ithacianæ*
 “ *partis communionem misceri. Caterum cum quosdam ex inergu-*
 “ *menis, tardius quam solebat, & gratia minore curabat, subinde*
 “ *nobis cum lachrymis fatebatur, se propter communionis illius ma-*
 “ *lum cui se vel puncto temporis necessitate, non spiritu miscuisset, de-*
 “ *trimentum sentire virtutis. Sedecim postea vixit annos: Nul-*
 “ *lam Synodum adiit; ab omnibus Conventibus se removit.*] Now
 Reader, judge how great *Ithacius's* Party was, that boasted but
 one or two men were against them: And whether *Martin* sepa-
 rated not from their common Synods.

Methinks I see Mr. *M.* here in the strait of the Pharisees,
 when put to answer whether *John's* Baptism was from Heaven,
 or of men. Fain he would make *Martin* and *Sulpitius* Puritanes
 and Fanaticks; but the Church hath made a Holy day for *Mar-*
tin, and dedicated multitudes of Temples to his Honour; and all
 men reverence *Sulpitius* and him. Yet he ventures to go as far
 as he durst p. 142. against them.

§ 10. But here Mr. *M.* smarteth, and saith [*This Instance*
could become none worse than Mr. B. who in a Letter to Dr. Hill
confesses himself to have been a Man of Blood--]

Answ. A *Man of Blood* is your Libertine Phrase. If you would
 have published that secret Letter, you should 1. Have told the
 whole, and worded it truly; 2. And have professed your self a
 derider of Repentance, while you call for it. I lived in an Age
 of

of War, and I was on the Parliaments side, and that was enough to prove that I had a hand in blood while I was on one side, though I never drew blood of any man my self (save once a Boy at School with boxing.)

But he thinks I should have imitated *Martin* in renouncing Communion with men of blood.

Answ. *Martin* renounced Communion with those that were for destroying even downright Hereticks. Alas Sir, I dare not renounce Communion with these that Silence thousands of faithful Ministers, and continue still to Plead, Preach, and Write for their Prosecution by Imprisonment and Ruine. I hope many do it in Ignorance, and if I do it, it may increase the distance that I would heal. Nonconformists are no Priscillianists.

And if I renounce Communion with all that were in Wars, it must be with some present Bishops, and a great part of the Land.

But I understand you ; it must be with all that were in Arms for the Parliament, &c. *Answ.* The King then will condemn me by his Act of Oblivion, and by his own practice : Hath he not one of them for the Lord President of his Council ? and many more in Trust and Honour ? Did he renounce Communion with General *Monk* and his whole Army, who were long in Arms for the Parliament ? Or with the Citizens, and multitudes of Commanders through the Land, who drew in & encouraged General *Monk* ? Or the Ministers that persuaded Sir *Tho. Allen*, Lord Mayor, to draw him in ?

To be plain with you Sir (though you call it Railing) Men of your Faculty kindled the Fire, and set the Nation together by the Ears, and when sad experience brought them to repentance and to desire unity and peace, and those that had fought for the Parliament had restored the King, this evil Spirit envyeth the Kingdom the benefit of this concord, and would fain break us again into contending Parties, and will not let King and Kingdom have peace, while God giveth us peace from all foreign enemies. Do we need any other notice what a Contentious Clergy have still been, than the woful experience of what they are. If you would have had *G. Monk* and his Army, and all such that joyned with him destroyed or excommunicate for what they had done, why did you not speak out at first, but when we would all fain have peace and concord thus twenty years after cast your Wild-fire

fire you warn the Present Duke of *Albemarle* to expect to be at last called to account for his original sin.

§ 11. But his passion makes him say he knows not what, P. 142 [“I need not call Mr. *B.* to remembrance who compared *Cromwel* to *David* and his Son to *Solomon*; But this has transported me a little too far.]

Ans. He saith this plainly of me afterward, to shew the credibility of his History? Did he know it to be false? If so, there's no disputing with him. If not, why did he not cite my words. Yea he after transcribes the Epistle meant, where he saw there were no such words: But others had told that tale before him, and that was Enough. Even as one of his tribe hath written that I have written in my Holy Common-wealth, that *any one Peer may judge the King*. If these Episcopal Historians tell forreigners that we have all Cloven Feet and Horns, and go on four legs, yea and if some swear it, we have no remedy: They can prove our noses horns, and our hands Feet.

I again tell them, If *Martins* Angel and Miracles be credible, woe to those Prelatists that are for ruining violence, and silences against men better than the *Gnosticks*. If they be not true, let them not trust too much to the best Historians.

§ 12. Of the Council at *Capua* I said that they decreed that the two Bishops and their People should live in loving Communion, Mr. *M.* finds me mistaken here. The words in *Binnius* are [*Ut tam Flaviani quam Evagrii fautores in Communionem Catholicam admittantur, modo Catholica fidei assertores inveniantur*] I thought Catholick Communion had been Loving Communion: And I thought if their fautors were to be received, so were they: And I thought *Antioch* had been a part of the Catholick Church, and Catholick Communion had extended to *Antioch*: But if Mr. *M.* deny these, I will not contend with him.

§ 13. He tells us, that [*No man with his Eyes open ever saw the Condemnation of Bonosus by the Council of Capua*] (for denying the Virgin Mary's perpetual Virginity.

Ans. It is Criticism and not History that the man is best at. They did it mediately, while they referred it to them that did it. Saith *Binnius* [“*Causa Bonosi cujusdam in Macedonia Episcopi hæretici, negantis delibatam Deæ genitricis Mariæ Virginitatem, post partum in judicium deducta est. Synodus cognitionem causæ Anytio Thessalonienfi cum Episcopis ipsi subjectis delegavit.*”] *Ab*

*“ Ab Anyſio Bonofum damnatum, eorumque quos ordinasset commu-
 “ nione privatum eſſe teſtatur Innoc. P. And he knows it's a He-
 reſie now. Yet this Council condemned Reordinations.*

§ 14. That *Jovinian* a Monk was called a Heretick, for Doctrines judged ſound by Proteſtants, is no ſtrange thing. That one not a Biſhop was the Head of a Herieſie, was ſomewhat ſtrange then, but not before they got too high.

As to the Queſtion, Whether Biſhops were the Chief Heads and Fomenters of Herieſie, I crave his impartial Answer to theſe Queſtions. 1. Do not your ſelves maintain that all Churches in the world had Biſhops; and that the Biſhops were the Rulers, and of Chief Power? If ſo, can you imagine that after they had ſuch Power, Churches could be uſually made Hereticks without them?

Q. 2. Do not Councils, and all Church-Hiſtory tell us how many Councils of Hereticks there have been that were Biſhops?

Q. 3. If any Preſbyter broke from his Biſhop to ſet up a Herieſie, was it not one that ſought to be a Biſhop? Or did they not make preſently him or ſome other their Biſhop and Head? Herieſie or Popery had made but ſmall progreſs, had it not been for Biſhops.

§ 15. When I commend the *Novatians* Canon, which allowed all men Liberty for the Time of *Eaſter*, as better than burning men as Hereticks, he takes it for an *Immoderate Transport* that I ſay [*“ as loud as I can ſpeak, If all the Proud, Ambitious,
 “ Hereticating part of the Biſhops had been of this mind, O what
 “ ſin, what ſcandal, and what ſhame, what cruelties, confuſions and
 “ miſeries had the Chriſtian world eſcaped?”*] That is, had they left ſuch Indifferent things as Indifferent.

And is this againſt Moderation? I would ſuch Zeal of God's Houſe had more eaten me up: Dare you deny but that this courſe would have ſaved the Lives of all thoſe thouſands of *Albigenſes*, *Waldenſes*, and *Bohemians* that the Papists killed: And the death and torment of multitudes by the Inquiſition? And the burning of our *Smithfield* Martyrs: And it's like moſt of the Wars between the Old Popes and Emperours about Inveſtitures? And the blood of many thouſand more. And it would have ſaved more Nations than ours from the Tearing and Division of Churches by the Ejecting and Silencing of hundreds or thouſands of their Paſtors, as the caſe of the *Germane Interim*, and other
 V such

such actions prove. And is it *Immoderate Transport* to wish all this Blood, Schism, Hatred and Confusion, and weakning and shaming of the Church had been prevented at the rate of *Tolerating Indifferent things*: No wonder if you had rather *England* still suffered what it doth, and is in danger of by Schism, than such things Indifferent shall be tolerated: It is not for nothing that Christ and *Paul* repeat, that some *have Eyes and see not, Ears and hear not, &c.*

§ 16. And here he again would make his Reader think it's true, that the Nonconformists pretend that their Silencing is for not keeping *Easter Day* at the due Time; as if this man that liveth among us did not know, that it is the *avoiding of deliberate Lying by subscribing to a known untruth*, which is the thing that they refuse; and they mention it only as an appurtenance of the Imposition *ad homines*, that it would bind them to two different times.

Whether, as he saith, *our disease be a wantonness fed by concession, and we are most violent when we know not what we would have*, those men are no credible Judges that for seventeen years would not endure us to speak out our Case; and when before we debated part of it, would not vouchsafe to answer us; and at last when we tell it them, do but accuse us with a sharper storm, instead of giving any thing that a man can call an Answer that ever knew the Case, *e.g.* to our *Pleas for Peace*, and my *Treatise of Episcopacy*.

§ 17. He confesseth that I praise the *African Bishops* as the best in the world, though it contradict his former charge. As to the Magnitude of Diocesses, when he hath answered my *Treat. of Episcopacy*, some body may be edified by him.

I agree with him that *Good men will do much Good in a great Diocess*. But 1. *Worldly Bishops* are so far bad: And worldly Wealth and Honour will ever be most sought by the most worldly men: And usually he that seeks shall find---*Ergo*---And 2. A good man cannot do Impossibilities: The best cannot do the work of many hundred.

Forty two years ago some wisht for the Restoring of Confession.

Theophilus Parochialis brings copious Reasons and Orders of Princes, Popes and Prelates, that all should confess to the Parish-Priest. If you had set this up here, how many men must have gone

gone to it in the Parishes of *St. Martin, Giles Cripplegate, Srepney, &c?* But how much greater work hath *Dr. Hammond*, and Old Councils, cut out for him that will be the sole Bishop of many hundred Parishes? I have named it elsewhere.

And, if any man of consideration think I have not proved against *Mr. Dodwell*, that Bishops Government is not like a King's, who may make what Officers under him he please, but depends more as a Physician's or School-master's on *Personal Ability*, I will now add but this Question to him [*Why is it that Monarchy may be hereditary, and a Child or Infant may be King but an Infant may not be Bishop, nor any one not qualified with Essential Ability?*] I have at large told you how sharply *Baronius* and *Binnius* condemn that odious Nullity of making a Child (by his Father's Power) A. Bishop of *Rhemes*.

If I heard twenty men say and swear that one man is sufficient to be the only Master of many hundred Schools, or Physician to many hundred Hospitals, or that one Carpenter or Mason may alone build and rear all the Houses in the City after the Fire, or one man be the sole Master of an hundred thousand Families; what can I say to him, but that he never tryed or knows the work?

§ 18. When I note that the *Donatists* took themselves for the Catholicks, and the Adversaries for Schismaticks, because they were the greater number, he very honestly saith, that *Multitude may render a Sect formidable, but it's no Argument of Right*.

Very true; nor Secular Power neither. But what better Argument have the Papists, and many others that talk against Schism?

§ 19. He thinks the *Donatists Bishops Churches* were not so small as our Parishes. *Ans.* Not as some: But if, as I said before, *Constantinople* in the height of all it's Glory in *Chrysostom's* daies, had but 100000 Christians; as many as three *London-Parishes* have, judge then what the *Donatists* had.

§ 20. His double quarrel with *Binnius* and *Baronius*, let who will mind. What I gathered out of those and other Canons of the smalness of Churches then, I have elsewhere made good. His Reviling Accusations of *Envy* to their Wealth, deserveth no Answer.

§ 21. He comes to *St. Theophilus's* Case, of which we spake before.

before. The Monks that reported evil of him, were, *it may be*, faith he, *downright Knaves*. The Reviling is blameless when applied to such. Doubtless they were ignorant rash Zealots: But one that reads what the *Egyptian Monks* were in *Anthony's* daies, and after, and what Miracles and Holiness, *Sulpitius Severus* reporteth of them, and why *Basil* retired into his Monastery, &c. may conjecture that they had much less worldliness than the Bishops, and not greater faults.

§ 22. I think it not desirable or pleasant work to vindicate the credit of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* accusing *Theophilus*: But if his Conjectures in this case may serve against express History of such men, and so near, let him leave other Histories as loose to our Conjectures. *Posthumianus* Narrative in *Sulpitius*, is but of one piece of the Tragedy. He thinks it improbable that *Origen* should be accused for making God *Incorporeal*; and such Conjectures are his Confutation of History: But *Origen* had two sort of Accusers; the Bishops, such as *Theophilus* and *Epiphanius* had worse charges against him: But the *Anthropomorphite* Monks were they that brought that Charge against him (that God had no face, hands, eyes.) And *Theophilus* before them cryed down *Origen* in general, to save his life, by deceiving them, that they might think he did it on the same account as they did. This is *Socrates* his Report of the Case.

He saith, that *the Impudent Mutinous Monks* were not ashamed to tell all the world, that all that were against them were *Anthropophites*.

Ans. It was other Monks that I here talk not of, that he means: It was these Monks that were *Anthropomorphites* themselves, and would have killed *Theophilus* for not being so, till he said to them, *Methinks I see your faces as the Face of God*: And the name of the Face of God did quiet them. *Hierem* was a Party against *Chrysostom*; it was for not passing that Sentence on *Origen*, that *Epiphanius* would by masterly Usurpation have imposed on him, that *Chrysostom* was by him accused.

§ 23. Could any Sobriety excuse that man *Epiphanius*, that would come to the Imperial City, and there purposely intrude into the Cathedral of one of the best Bishops in the world, for Parts and Piety, and there play the Bishop over an A. Bishop in his own Church, and seek to set all the Auditory in a flame at the time of Publick Worship, and require him to say that of
Origen,

Origen, which he there without any Authority imposed on him? I know not what is Pride, Usurpation, Turbulency, if not Malig-
nity, if this be not.

But at last he saith, [*"I do not intend to excuse Theophilus in
" this particular: (Thank Pope Innocent) He did certainly pro-
" secute his Resentment too far: But he was not the only man:
" Epiphanius, a person of great Holiness; Hierom, and several
" other persons renowned for their Piety, were concerned in the per-
" secution of this Great man, as well as he: And to say the truth,
" this is their weakness; for that Severity which gives men gene-
" rally a Reputation of Holiness, though it mortifie some irregular
" heats, yet is apt to dispose men to peevishness.*]

But true Holiness ever sincerely loveth holy men, and special-
ly such as are publick Blessings to the Church: And though I
censure not their main State, your *Holy Persecutors* of the best
of Christ's Servants, will never by Christ be judged small Offen-
ders.

Alas! it's too true that *Theophilus* was not alone: A Coun-
cil of Bishops were the Persecutors. And it's hard to think that
they loved *Chrysostom* as themselves. When the forementioned
Council at *Constantinople* had turned out *Nazianzen*, even the
great magnifiers of General Councils, *Baronius* and *Binnius*, thus
reproach them, that they drove away a holy excellent man, that
a man was set up in his stead that was no Christian; that it was
the *Episcopi Nundinarii* that did it, the *Oriental Bishops* first
leaving them, and going away with *Gregory*. And if the Major
Vote of that General Council were *Episcopi Nundinarii*, what
Chrysostom's Persecutors were may be conjectured. Do not these
Papists here say worse of them than I do?

§ 24. Yet though he confess as much as is aforesaid, and
bring but his Conjectures mixt with palpable omissions against
the expresse words of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, he hath the face to
make up his failing with this Calumny [*"I have dwelt so long on
" this, not only to vindicate Theophilus, but to shew once for all the
" manner of our Author's dealing with his Reader in his Church-
" History. Any scandalous Story, though it be as false and impro-
" bable as any in the Anni Mirabiles, or Whites Centuries of Scan-
" dalous Ministers, any Fiction that reflects with disgrace on
" Bishops and Councils is set down for authentick, no matter who
" delivers it, friend or foe.*]

Answer.

Answ. Are not *Baronius* and *Binnius* friends to the highest Prelacy? Doth not he himself say that *Socrates* is a credible Historian? Is his Authority weighty enough to discredit them whom he contradicts? Hath he proved one word false that I have said of *Theophilus*? Is not *Chrysostom* as credible as he? Doth he not know how ill he is spoken of by a great number of *Chrysostom's* Defenders? And how smartly *Isidore Pelusiota* reflects on him?

But who could have disgraced him more, than he that will imply that the things mentioned of him are as true as what is said in *White's Centuries of Scandalous Ministers*, or the *Anni Mirabiles*. I know not all or most things in either of them. But he was a stranger in *England* that had not credible Testimony of divers of the things in the *Anni Mirabiles*. And Mr. *White*, the Chairman of that Parliament-Committee, was commonly reputed a grave and godly credible man; and if he lied, the whole Committee must concur in the Lie; and the Witnesses must all be false. I will not further meddle in so unpleasant a business, than to tell you, that all that I knew accused of Scandal, had Witnesses of it, that in the places where they lived were thought to make as much conscience of a Lie, as the best of their Neighbours: And whether such a mans scorn that was then in the shell, is in History a sufficient proof that Committees of Parliament, and Witnesses, were all Lyars, I leave to consideration. I well know what School-masters and Curates I was bred under, and what the two Ministers were that were sequestred in the place where I after came: And all the Country can tell you. They constrained me to name them, and the Case in my Apology for our Preaching, and my Answer to Mr. *Hinkley*: It's yet the same Age: Any may enquire of them.

§ 25. As to his Note of *Altars*, I doubt not but there were at the Memorials of Martyrs Commemorative *Altars* erected in the third or fourth Centuries: But what's that to Communicatory *Altars*? and those in the first and second Century?

§ 26. I suppose he wrote against my Book upon some others Reading. I did in a Parenthesis say (*Innocent Excommunicated Theophilus, Arcadius and the Empress.*) And of another matter added; yet did this pass without contradiction: And he confounds them, and saith, [*Any thing passeth with him for History: This Epistle of Innocent is all forged.*] *Answ.* I see not his proof: But
I had

I had rather it were proved false than true: But when I speak against Papal Usurpation (be the men never so good) I think to such *Binnius* and *Baronius* are meet Witnesses.

§ 27. *Boniface's* Decree of exempting Bishops from Civil Judicatures, he thinks not so Antient, and saith, We have only the Authority of *Gratian* for it: But his Conjecture and a flint at me is all the Confutation: And he cannot doubt but that Exemption hath sufficiently priviledged Bishops since then: As is after proved.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the first Council of Ephesus, &c. His Cap. 5.

§ 1. **O**UR Accuser in his Fifth Chapter passeth by the just Praises which I give to Peaceable Bishops, as crossing his Slander that I dispraise all, or such as well as the unpeaceable, whose Justification it is that he undertaketh.

§ 2. He begins with an Accusation, that [*to prejudice the Reader against Cyril's Council, I give the worst account of him that I could patch up out of all the Libels and Accusations of his Enemies.*]

Ans. If by *Prejudice* be meant *Informing him of History*; and by *Worst* is meant *Impartial Recitation* of what History saith; and by *Patching up* be meant such *Reciting*; and by *Enemies* be meant the *best and most credible Historians* that have written of it, then this is true: Else it is the work of that Undertaker that is engaged to call *Evil Good*, and *Darkness Light*, and preferreth speaking good of bad actions, before speaking truly.

§ 3 And that you may know by what Spirit men that will not reproach the best that differ from the Prelates, are themselves reproached by this Sect, and also what sort of History this man giveth the Lie to, on pretence of giving it me, and how far he is from Railing, he thus proceedeth.

["The first thing he is charged with is the Oppression of the
" *Novatians*. This was enough with *Socrates* or *Sozomen* to
" paint him as ugly as men do the Devil or Antichrist; and
" there-

“therefore there is no great credit to be given them in these
 “Relations, as manifestly espousing the Cause and Quarrel of
 “the *Novatians*.]

Answ. 1. Just as *Thuanus* or *Erasmus* espoused the Cause of the Protestants by Truth and Peace, when others hated and belied them. 2. Methinks the man revileth me very gently in comparison of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, the two most impartial and credible of all our Antient Church-Historians (with *Theodorot*.) But who can wonder that he imitateth that which he defendeth.

§ 4. But he saith, [*It may be the Novatians deserved it--- and it's not unlikely that they were very troublesom and seditious.*]

Answ. It's not unlikely now that others will say it was so. But mark Reader which of these Historians is most credible [*Socrates* and *Sozomen* lived with those that knew the things and persons: They have told us Truth in the rest of their Histories: If they had been *Novatians*, Mr. *M.* saith, They believed sinning after Baptism had no pardon or absolution: And were they not like then to sear such Lying and false Accusing as paints a Saint like the Devil or Antichrist.] On the other side [Mr. *M.* liveth above a thousand years after them: He is one of the Party that take it to be not only lawful, but a duty to say and swear all that is imposed now, which I will not here describe: How truly he writes the History of his own Age, even of Parliament and Wars, and living persons, I have told you. He saith no more against the Historians credit here, but [*it may be*] and [*it's not unlikely*] and [*they were Novatians, Schismatics, Alexandrians.*] Even so their Counterminer, and many Conformists, that have many years reported us to be Raising a War against the King, had their [*May-be's*] and [*It's not unlikely*] and [*they are Schismatics*] to prove it: And others soon rose up and swore it. And when some lament their Perjury, it stops not the rest. But some have such *Free-will*, that they can believe whom they list.

§ 5. *Socrates*, saith he, makes it part of his charge that he took on him the Government of temporal Affairs. This was not the Usurpation of the Bishop, but the Indulgence of the Emperour: And he shews the Churches need of it.

Answ. That which he is charged with is, that he was the first Bishop that himself used the Sword. And 1. Do you think that so great a Patriarchate & Diocess would not find a conscio-
 nable

nable Pastor work enough, without joyning with it the Magistrates Office? 2. Was not the Church greatly changed even so early from what it was a little before in the daies of *Martin* and *Sulpitius*, when even *Ithacius* durst not own being so much as a seeker to the Magistrate to draw the Sword against gross Hereticks; and the best Bishops denied Communion with them that sought it: And now a Bishop himself becomes the striker not of gross Hereticks, but such as peaceable Bishops bore with.

I remember not to have read that *Cyriel* had any Commission for the Sword from the Emperour: Others then had not: But I deny it not.

§ 6. He saith, that elsewhere I say [*I shall not dishonour such, nor disobey them.*] *Answ.* I say and do so: If a Bishop will take another Calling from the King's Grant, when he hath undertaken already 40 times more work as a Diocesan than he can do, He honour and obey him as a Magistrate: But I would be loth to stand before God under the guilt of his undertaking and omissions.

§ 7. As to all the rest of the History about *Cyriel's* Executions, and the wounding of *Orestes* the Governour, I leave it between the Credit of Mr. *M.* and *Socrates*: And he very much suspects the Story of *Cyriel's* making a Martyr of him that was executed for it: I leave all to the Reader's Judgment. I think I may transcribe *Socrates* without flandering *Cyriel*.

Here his spleen rising, saith [*There are men in the world that honour such as Martyrs for murdering a King.*]

Answ. You may smell what he insinuates: I think he will not say, that he ever did more against them than those that they call Presbyterians have done. We Wrote and Preacht against them when he did not. I know not the Presbyterian living to my remembrance, that was not against the Murder of the King, and *Prin*, whom the Bishops had cropt and stigmatized for being against them, as an *Erastian*, was the hottest in the Parliament, for the Execution of the King's Judges: But I knew divers Conformists that have written or spoken to justifie or excuse that Fact.

§ 8. As for the Murder of *Hypatia*, I leave him to his scuffle with *Socrates* and *Damascius*, in which I interest not my self.

§ 9. I thank Pope *Innocent* Mr. *M.* durst not deny *Cyriel's* faults,

faults, in his Enmity to the memory of *Chrysostom*; and yet he calls my reciting the matter of Fact a reproach. He is constrained to confess [*That the Quarrel was it seems hereditary to him* (so is Original Sin) and he did prosecute it beyond all equity or decency against the memory of a dead man: This was a fault, and and he that is without any, or without any particular animosity, specially if he be in any eminent place, let him cast the first stone.]

Answ. Thanks to Conscience: We feel your Animosities: But is not this man a Railing Accuser of Cyril, if I am such? What saith he less in the main? Yea he now renews his Accusation of his Predecessor, saying, *It was hereditary*. To prosecute malice against the very name of a holy extraordinary Bishop, beyond all equity and decency--what will Christianity or Humanity call it? But Faction saith, *it was a fault, and he that is without any, &c.* Thus talkt *Eli* to his Sons: So one may say, To Silence 2000 Ministers, or to hate the best men, and seek their ruine, is a fault, a Prelatical peccadillo; and so was *Bonner's* usage of the Martyrs; and let him that is without any cast the first stone. And *St. John* saith, *He that hateth his Brother is a murderer*, and none such hath Eternal Life abiding in him; and that as *Cain*, he is of the Evil One, the Devil. And I believe him.

§ 10. But he saith, *I injuriously charge him with calling Alexander a bold faced man, when Atticus was the first Author of that word.*

Answ. *Atticus* mentioned *Alexander's* confident, true and necessary Counsel; *Cyril* contradicting it, calls the man, *A man of a confident face or mouth*. If another Bishop said the first words before him, do I wrong him in saying he said the second? O tender men! His urging the keeping up the names of such as *Nectarius* and *Arsacius*, and casting out *Chrysostomus*, is so like our Canons about Readers and Nonconformists, and our Canoners descriptions of their Country Parsons, and the Puritanes, that I wonder not that you defend him.

§ 11. But he saith, that *It's a little unchristian to blast his memory with the faults which he corrected in his life-time.*

Answ. 1. It's necessary to tell that truth which blasteth the Reputation of such sin as was growing up towards Papacy.

Ans. 2. Then Christ was unchristian to tell the Jews of their very Fathers murders of the Prophets, while they disclaimed it, and built their Sepulchres, *Mat. 23*. And then it was unchristian in the

the Holy Ghost, to blast the memory of *Adam, Noe, Lot, David Solomon, Peter, yea or Manasseh*, with sins repented of. 3. History must speak truth about things *repented of*; or else it will but deceive the world. 4. The Honour of God, and Goodness, and Truth, must be preferred before our own Honour. Repentance, if true, will most freely confess a mans own sin, and most fully shame it.

§ 12. Whether all his far-fetcht Conjectures that Cyril repented, be true or no, is nothing to me. I will hope he did, though I never saw it proved: The very last Sentence of Death might do it. His retortion is, [*I know no man deeper engaged in the Contentions of the Church (than I) The writing of his Eighty Books being but like so many pitchd Battels he has fought, and most commonly in the dark, when he was hardly able to discover friend from foe.*]

Answ. It's too true, that being all written for Peace, the Enemies of Peace have fought against them. *Nimis diu habitavit, anima mea inter osiores pacis.* But *pro capite Lectoris, &c.* All men take not the words of such as he for Oracles. How much I have written and done for Peace, let others read and judge. I long laboured and begg'd for Peace in vain with such as he defendeth. And it's admirable if this pittiless Enemy of Sects and Errours can be for all the Sects and Errours that I have written against. Have I in the dark taken for foes by Error the Atheists, the Infidels, the Sadduces, the Hobbists, the Quakers, the Ranters, the Papists, the Socinians, the Libertines called Antinomians, the Anabaptists, the Separatists, and Sects as Sects? Be of good comfort all: These Prelatists that accuse us for too dark and sharp Writings against you, seem to tell you that they will more hate persecuting or distressing you; Yes when they agree with themselves.

His Prayer that I may have a more *honorable* opinion of Repentance he calls me to speak to in the End.

§ 13. Whether good *Isidore Pelusiota* were a man [*"very easy to take any impressions, and upon false information chargeth Cyril with prosecuting his private quarrells with Nestorius under pretence of zeal for the faith*"] I leave all men to believe our Accuser as they see cause. And the same I say of that which is so great a Controversie among the Critical Historians, whether *Theodore's* Epistle to *Job. Aut.* against Cyril be Counterfeit, or were

were written on a false rumour of *Cyrils* death. Their 5th General Council hath it. *Baronius* and *Binnius* say, some *Eutychian* knave hath corrupted the Acts of that Council. Must Councils be the Laws of all the world, and hath the Church and *Tradition* kept them no better, that we know not when we have them truly? Leave us then to the universal Laws of God.

§ 14. He saith truly that [*the Council of Ephesus was chiefly directed by the authority of Cyril*] *Ans.* And so was that at *Trent* by the authority of the Pope. And when he hath confuted the credible History wick tells us of the womens and Courtiers hatred of *Nestorius*, and proved that the Emperour and *Pulcheria* the Empress were but one, I will grant that the authority of the Court directed not *Cyril*; and that then and now Bishops neither were nor are directed by the Civil powers.

§ 15. When I spake against *Nestorius* his cruelty to Sectaries he asketh [*What Hereticaters were hotter than the Presbyterians in 1646. The Inquisition is not more severe than their ordinance against Heresies, which they desired should be made felony and punished by death &c.*]

Ans. Reader Judge of the mans Credit as to ancient History still by his truth about the Present age. 1. The *Inquisition* he saith, *is not more severe*. Do I need to answer this to any man of 50 years of age? It's Capable of no answer but what he will call by some name deserved by his own.

2. I can find no such ordinance: He saith *It was offered? Is that all? And by whom? Was it the body of the Presbterians, or who?*

3. What were the Heresies named by them? Were they not down right Blasphemy?

4. Who and how many were ever either tormented or put to death for Heresie, from 1641 till 1660: I remember not one, save that *James Nayler* was imprisoned and whipt, and had his Tongue bored for blasphemous Personating Christ, and that not by the Presbyterians.

5. Why are they so ordinarily reproached by the Prelatists for tolerating all Sects here in *England*?

6. What if all this had been true? What is it to me or any of my mind? I never had a hand in persecuting one man, to my remembrance. How few can you name of all the Nonconformists now in *England*, that had any hand in the Severities you mention?

mention? I know not four in *England*, that I remember. And what's this to us any more than to you?

7. And was it well done, or ill? If well, why do you liken them to the Inquisition? Are you for it? If ill, why do you plead for it in others? Imitate it not if you dislike it.

For my part, as I am against all Sects as such, I am much more against the cruelty of any. I stick no more at the disgracing the Presbyterians sins, than yours: And I am readier to disgrace my own than either, if I can know them. I would cherish Errours no more than you; but I would not ruine or imprison even such of your selves as have too many. Heresie must have its proper cure. I thank God I had once an Orthodox agreeing Flock. But again I say, the Presbyterians were too impatient with Dissenters; and it's better have variety of Fish in the Pond, than by the Pikes to reduce them to special unity.

§ 16. He saith that *Nestorius consequentially denied the God-Head of Christ*. p. 192. Next he hath found a contradiction in my words, that the *Emperor was weary of this stir*: And yet that [*Cyril did it to please the Court*] These critical men can make their two hands enemies to each other. How came he waking to dream that this was a contradiction, when Historians tell us that the Women and Courtiers hated both *Chrysostome* and *Nestorius*? He implyeth that the *Emperor* and the *Court* were all one, or of one mind. But I am not bound to believe him, no more than of many other Emperours whose Wives kept up one party and they another. And I pray you why should we be confident that *Theodosius 2.* himself called an *Eutychian* by the hereticising Bishops, was not against *Nestorius* when he called that Council, & at first Condemned both him and *Cyril*, and after him alone? I did but recite the Historians words, and was that forgetfulness?

§ 17. His many words about this controversie with *Nestorius* are the most unworthy of any answer of all his Books: sometime he saith as I, as p. 193. [*It had been happy for the Church if the mysteries of our Religion had never been curiously disputed*: sometime he confelleth that *Nestorius spake the same thing with Cyril, that Christ had two natures in one Person*: *ibid.* And that he expresseth himself one would think very orthodoxly. p. 202. But the Heretick dissembled and hid his sence. And so this man after above 1000 years knew the mans mind to be contrary to his words: whereas it's palpable to him that readeth the Histories, that the
man

man was so far from *hiding* and *dissembling*, that he was sowerly and morosely addicted to stick to the words and Notions he had espoused, and too little to regard a peaceable compliance to mollifie his accusers. His fault lay on the clean contrary side, But he proveth him a Heretick that meant *Christ* was two Persons, though he said the contrary, 1. Because he saith that the Humane Nature was united in *dignity* and *honour* to the Divine.

Ans. As if either the hypostatical union were denyed by those words, or he knew that *Nestorius* meant not to include it in those terms:

But he saith he useth the word *πρόσωπον*, and not *ὑπόστασις*. *Ans.* As if *πρόσωπον* never signified more than a Relative or official Person, when besides the many places cited by *Derodon*, *Nestorius* oft explaineth himself in the common orthodox fence.

But the foulest charge is, that he seems once or twice to distinguish *Christ* from the Divine Nature. *Ans.* By [*Christ*] he expresseth himself to mean the *humane nature anointed to his Office*: And the man thought that the Divine Nature was not so anointed: and distinguishing is not dividing.

It is not his *Nay* and my *Yea* that can inform any Reader what *Nestorius* said and meant without reading his own words (rather than *Cyrils* of him.) And if such as Mr. *M.* will pretend Charity, and contrary to plain evidence face down the world that a Man denyeth consequentially *Christ's God-Head*, and the Unity of his Person, while he professeth the contrary, no mans innocency is sufficient to escape the fangs of such hereticaters: And let him call me what his list inclineth him to call me, I again profess that on the reading of *Cyril*, *Nestorius*, and the Council, and *Derodon's* Citations, I am quite past doubt that the controversy was Verbal, which of them spake orthodoxly while they both meant the same thing; and when one said *Mary was the Mother of God*, and the other said, no; *She was but the Mother of that Person who is God*; the fitness of the phrase was the matter of their quarrel.

And consider 1. Many think that when a high point is in controversy to the danger of the Church, we must use the exactest phrases, and not say all that may be justified.

2. And as *forma dat nomen*, so *locutio formalis*, or denominating a *forma* is more exact and proper than a *materia*: And therefore though *idioms* may be Communicated, he that in controversie denomi-

denominateth the Divine Nature from its own properties, speaks more exactly.

3. If one should in our Pulpits say ordinarily [*The World was Created by Man: The eternal proceeding of the Holy Ghost was from a Man: Flesh and Blood was from Eternity;*] many sound Christians would not like it. And yet it's true in the Communicative sense, viz. [He that is now man made the world as God: The Holy Ghost eternally proceeded from the 2d Person in the Trinity who is now God and Man: Christ who was flesh and blood on Earth, was Eternal as God.] So if one now say [God was confined to the Virgins Womb, and to the Manger: God could not speak in the Infancy of Christ: God was but about 30 year old when Christ was Baptized: God knew not the day nor the hour of Christs second coming: God was asleep, hungry, sorrowful, in an agony, crucified, dead, buried, &c.] All this is thus far true, viz. Of Christ who was God, not as God but as man: And yet if I should deny but the fitness of this speaking, I were just such an Heretick as Nestorius was: And many that are no Hereticks for all that would not relish it.

Either my Eyes could not find that in Nestorius which he affirms of him or else he is a meer slanderer of him, when he saith Pag. 193 that he *denyed* Yea obstinately] that *Mary was the Mother of that Person who was God.*] He hath produced no such word. That which he stood to was, that instead of saying *Mary was the Mother of God*, we should say *she was the Mother of Christ who is God and Man*. And of the unity of Person I have cited already his own words so fully, as moved Derodon to say [I dare boldly say, no Christian hath hitherto spoken trulyer and plainer of the unity of Christs Person in two natures than Nestorius.] And that it's false that he confest but an union of dignity the same cited words shew: *Nexu adeo sublimi* (saith he) *Divinoque & admirabili* (mentioning the conjunction of the Divinity and humanity) *ut Divina natura ea sibi vendicet quae Corporis alioquin sint propria*] Epist. ad Cyril.

And as to all his justifications of Cyril, he knoweth that I justify his Doctrine as well as he, but not the work that he made, which is not undone among Nations of Nestorians to this day. But if the man were able to be impartial, and so happy as not to draw on himself the guilt of such sins by justifying them, he might easily see in his own confession that Cyril the Hereticator spake

spake as bad at least as *Nestorius*. He oft confesseth (for he cannot deny it) [*that he doth frequently own but one nature*] p. 197. and 198. [*that there is but one nature of the word incarnate*] so p. 201. &c. But *Cyril* meant well, that is, by *Nature* he meant *Person*. And was not this *Eutychian* Speech as improper as *Nestorius's* is ? Is the *nature* and *Person* to be confounded ? Did the Fathers speak thus ? If *Nature* put for *Person* be pardonable, why is it not pardonable to prefer a denomination a *proprietas vel forma*, to another ? And thus you make *Cyril* to differ from the *Eutychians*, in their different meanings while they used the same words. If I had said that Christ had but one *Nature* I should have had a censure otherwise measured.

And though this man seem to deny it, I have cited many of his words in which he saith [*Duas naturas unitas asserimus : post unionem vero tanquam adempta jam in duas distinctione, unam esse credimus filii naturam, tanquam unius sed inhumati & incarnati & ad success. Nihil injusti facimus dicentes, ex duabus naturis factum esse concursum in unitatem : Post unionem vero non distinguimus naturas ab invicem.* But I have cited enough before.

The sum and truth is, to judge no one but my self, I must be blind by ignorance or partiality if I be not past doubt, 1. That unskilful explication was their difference. 2. That *Cyril's* words were *Eutychian*. 3. That *Nestorius's* words were orthodox in the main, but not sufficiently yielding to a tolerable phrase. 4. That they both meant the same thing. 5. That all their war was managed, 1. For want of distinguishing fully the *Abstract* [*Deitatem*] and the *Concrete* [*Deum*] 2. For want of distinguishing [*Qui Deus*] from [*Qua Deus*] and a strict formal expression from a more laxe that's tolerable. And 3. For want of distinguishing [*division*] from [*distinction*] of natures. 4. For want of explaining the various sorts and senses of [*Unity*] and [*Plurality*]. I cannot but know this to be true, though Mr. M. scorn me for it.

What [*I that understand not the language they wrote in to pretend to know better than the Council ?*] Ans. 1. So say the Papists : what ? will you pretend to know more than the Church and Councils ? If it be implicate faith that they are bringing us to, let them tell us which Councils we must so believe when they condemn each other ? 2. I thought I could make shift to understand their language, though I be no critick in it : But if he know me

me better, I strive not for the reputation of Learning; not only *Baronius* and *Binnius*, and all the rest that he nameth that had no skill in Greek, but most of the Schoolmen, seem to me without it, far more Learned than he. I can tell him of Lads whose Learning I admire not, that shall vie with him in Languages Oriental and Occidental, and give him odds; And when he scorns *Derodons* distinctions, telling us it's *making two bad Groats by flitting a Sixpence*, &c. I leave him to glory in his Confusion: But I suspect the Fox that speaks against Tails is like enough to want one himself.

But when he hath shewed in all this History of *Nestorius*, *Cyriel*, and the Council, little but that partiality which can talk confidently to the ignorant for any cause, without any shew of confuting *Derodons* justification of *Nestorius*, or my Conciliation, his craft or passion attempts to divert the Reader by the art of the times, and as if it must stop our Mouths from lamenting the sin of Hereticators, and misery of the Church thereby, he tells us how men in these times call them Papists that are none.

Ans. If it be ill done, why condemn you your self by defending those that did the like? If it was well done in Bishops Councils, why not in them? 2. But what's this to me, if it be not me that he means? If it be, 1. If you will read but the last part of my *Cathol. Theolog.* judge of the mans front. 2. It is none but those that are for a humane Sovereignty over all the Church on Earth that we judge Papists: And if you judge them not such, we will thank you to tell us what a Papist is in your own sense.

§ 18. His saying p. 225. that [*John Comes that gives a sad account of the Council is much to be suspected*, &c. doth but tell us that he would have your belief of History guided by the Interest of his Cause.

§ 19. As to his scorn against my translating the words [*the Scripture and Sacred*] which mean that imperial Scripture, I did think a literal Translation could not have been judged a misunderstanding or mistranslation: Why may they not be called in *English* what they are called in *Greek*? And he had a strong imagination if he thought that *Hammers* Translation of *Eusebius*, &c. afforded me such materials as these.

§ 20. His conclusion of some that scorn to preach by the Licence of the Government I before mentioned. The Truth and ministerial

ministerial Honesty of it, is much like as if Thousands should petition the Bishop, that their sick families may have licensed Physicians, and he rejecteth all their Petitions, and prevaieth with the Parliament to do the like: At last the King pittieeth them, and licenseth the Physicians, and the Bishop and his Clergy are offended, and get it revoked, and the Physicians practise at their peril without license: And our credible Historian should record it, that they scorned to practise as licensed by the Government, even while still they make all the Friends they can to the Clergy to be licensed, and are not able to prevail. But the ages that knew not them and us, that are to come, may possibly believe these men as they believe their Predecessors.

§ 21. To conclude, Reader, if now thou have any sense of Christian Interest, Unity and Love, judge of the whole case impartially, and begin with notorious matter of fact.

1. We find at this day a great Body of Christians, called *Nestorians*, inhabiting the Countries of *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Parthia*, and *Media*, yea, spread Northerly to *Cataya*, and Southerly to *India*; abundance of them even in *Tartary*, saith *Paulus Venet*. See *Brierwood* p. 139. And we find that they are by the Western Churches, if not the *Greeks*, called *Hereticks*, and at the easiest *Schismaticks*. And yet as those very Friars that have lived among them say, they are commonly free from any such Opinions as are charged on them, but only honour the name of *Nestorius*, and condemned the Councils that condemned him. This Mr. *M*, nor no Prelate will deny that retaineth humanity.

2. We find that this woful fraction hath continued about one Thousand two Hundred and thirty Years.

3. We are put to enquire what was and is the cause; and we find that on both sides it is the Bishops and their Clergy that now continue it, and it was Patriarchs and their Bishops that at first caused it.

4. We enquire how they did it: And Mr. *Morrice* confesseth that it began in a dispute between the two Patriarchs (whether the Virgin *Mary* was to be called *The Mother of God*, or rather *The Mother of Jesus Christ who is God and Man*: and that on this occasion *Cyriel* charged *Nestorius*, as making Christ to be two Persons, and he himself said Christ incarnate had but one Nature, but had no more skill in speaking, than by one Nature to mean

mean one Person, (though *Derodon* labour to prove that he meant worse,) that *Nestorius* professed two Natures in one Person. And Mr. *M.* saith, *Nestorius* when he spake well meant ill, and *Cyriel* when he spake ill meant well. And upon this a General Council itself is first divided about them, even to blows: and after by the importunity of *Cyriel's* party, *Nestorius* is banished, and the Bishops divided, some for one, and some for another to this day. Another Council is called at *Calcedon*, and confirmeth the Condemnation, and the *Nestorian* Bishops condemn that Council, and for many Ages the Bishops were divided also about that, one part condemning it, and the other subscribing to it, and honouring it. Judge now what these Bishops have done to Christian Religion and the Church of Christ, and continue to do: And if you dare join with our Canoneers in making the guilt your own, by justifying such dismal work; the further you go, the more of it you have to justifie, till your Souls have guilt and load enough.

Honest Dr. *Moore* charged with Nestorianism, is fain to accuse *Nestorius* out of his Enemies words to clear himself. That he owned not a [*Physical Union of Natures*] is an ambiguous, unsafe word: A Physical Union seems to signifie one *φύσις* which is not to be said. He never denied a personal or Hypostatical Union. And if he had (as he did not) opposed the word *Hypostasis*, so did *Hierom* that was no Heretick, and many more for a long time.

I suppose Mr. *M.* is not more zealous against Nestorianism than the Hereticating Church of *Rome* is: And how great they really thought the *Nestorian* Heresie, the story which I mention of *P. Hormisdas* tells you, which I will repeat. [There arose a controversie whether it might be said that [One of the Trinity was crucified,] Pope *Hormisdas* said [No] because they that were for it were suspected to be *Eutychians*: The *Nestorians* laid hold on this, and said, [Then we may not say that Mary was the Parent of one of the Trinity.] This was a hard case: *Justinian* sent to Pope *John* about it. His infallibility and *Hormisdas's* were contrary: he and his Council say that we may say, that [One of the Trinity was crucified.] Hereupon *Baronius* and *Binnus* give us a useful note, [*Ita mutatis hostibus arma mutari necesse fuit.*] What should the World do if we had not had such a Judge of Controversies, I hope Mr. *M.* will not be so heretical, or schismatical,

as to say that either of these Popes erred against an Article of Faith: But will rather recant his Accusation of *Nestorius*, and number this with *Things Indifferent*, which the Church hath power to change at her pleasure.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Council of Ephesus 2d.

§ 1. **T**Hat our Historian may justifie the Dividers he makes himself a Party, and by downright mistake against both faith, 1. That *Nestorius* fell into *Blasphemy*, denying Christ to be true God. 2. And that *Eutyches* denied Christ to be true Man. This is our Reformer of History; when both of them professed Christ to be true God, and true man. I doubt not but the Man can write another Book to justifie this; for what is it that some cannot talk for? Yea, he is at it again, p. 230. that *Eutyches* held Christ not to be true Man.

§ 2. He confesseth again that *Cyril* affirmeth but one Nature, and meant but one Person, and that *Eutyches* used the same words, but saith, sure they cannot be so mad as to fall out so violently when they say the same thing & words. *Flavian* could not be so foolish or so wicked, &c. *Ans.* I justifie not the words of *Eutyches* or *Cyril*; but if I have great reason to believe, that as he confesseth *Cyril* so gross as to use *φύσις* for *ὑπόστασις*, so *Eutyches* who had far less Learning than *Cyril*, did word amiss the conceptions, which were the same with *Cyril*s, I leave it to this mild Censurer to call them *Fools*, and *mad*, and *wicked*. It's taken for railing in me to blame them.

§ 3. He saith [*Cyril* never said there were two Natures in Christ before the Union. *Ans.* I have twice cited his words: Find a true difference between them and those of *Eutyches* if you can. I believe they both meant better than they spake.

§ 4. But the Spirit of detraction useth to fetch Accusations from *Hearts*, & *Thoughts*, and *secret Actions*, and so doth he against *Eutyches*; and he saith this hath been done of late times, To deliver what in select Meetings, which they will not in publick promiscuous Assemblies: as evil Spirits are under restraint in consecrated places.

Ans.

Ans. Therefore it is that the Nonconformists have 20 or 19 years so earnestly beg'd for leave to preach in publick consecrated places to promiscuous Assemblies, that they might be out of suspicion, but could never obtain it of this sort of Masters. *Ex ore tuo---* Thus they that cast the stone at others oft find it hit themselves. Mr. *Edwards Gangrena* is here commend- ed to those that are for Toleration. As if all differences were equally intolerable or tolerable: And he that saith [*Tolerate not those that preach Blasphemy or intolerable error,*] said no worse than he that saith [*Silence Two Thousand Preachers, unless they will Profess, Promise, and Swear, and do all that is (oft described) imposed on them.*]

§ 5. In his Narrative he is no more tender of the honour of Bishops it seems than I am, nor so much of Emperours; for when he had said the Emperour [*was too much addicted to this kind of Vermine (Eunuchs) and shews his bitterness against Flavian, he saith that the Letters which called this Council suggested sufficiently what it was to do, and that their business was to condemn a Bishop the Emperour did not care for, though without any just ground, nay, for his honesty.*]

I deny none of this: But were the Bishops of the Catholick Church in a good case then, that, when they knew before that they were called to such a work as this, would meet in a General Council and do it? No; he accuseth them himself, I need not do it.

The Emperour, he saith, *knew how to choose Bishops, (and yet his Summons was general to all to come,) and the President, if half be true that is said of him, (and if that be a doubt, how credible are your Historians?) was one of the most wicked, profligate Wretches in the World,*] yet he was one of the Patriarchs, and all the Council Bishops, and till they met, were not thus accused. You see the man is a far greater railer than I even against Bishops: But it is but against those that are against his Interest and side.

§ 6. He describes those Bishops as using violence, forgetting that it is it his Party trusteth to continually: just with the front as *Baronius* and *Binnus*, and many other Papists, justify *Martin* for being against putting Hereticks to death, and condemn *Itbaci*, while their Kingdom is upheld by that which they condemn, and worse, even the burning of true Christians as Hereticks, and it's Heretical with them to imitate *Martin*, just as those

those *Matth. 23*. Your Fathers killed the Prophets, and you build their Sepulchers, and say if we had lived in the days of our Fathers, we would not, &c.

§ 7. But in the passage I find our Historian in a more charitable mood to this *Ephesine* Council of Bishops than his Brethren, [*How bad soever Dioscorus and this Council were, yet they are in my judgment to be looked on rather as favourers of Heresie than Hereticks, they followed the meaning I believe as well as the Words of Cyril.*] *Ans.* And now I may hope I am Orthodox and Charitable when I have no less than his Judgment to justify mine. And *Anatolius* justifieth us both.

§ 8. But Sir, now you are in a good Mood, will you consider,

1. Whether those Bishops and Councils that set the Christian World in that Flame that burneth dreadfully to this day, after above 1200 Years, were not guilty at least of a peccadillo or venial sin.

2. Whether they are imitable.

3. Whether this General Council had a supream Legislative and Judicial power over all the Church on Earth, which all must obey and none must appeal from.

No: saith Bishop *Gunning*, *It was a meeting of violent Robbers.*

Ans. But it was a General Council: which it seems then may be such.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the 4th General Council at Calcedon.

§ 1. **H**E begins his Chapter comically, and notably derideth me for saying *Pulcheria* was the same that before at *Ephesus* had set the Bishops against *Nestorius*. Is this so ridiculous? It's well known that Historians make her very powerful with her Brother: she chose his Wife *Eudocia*, (They were long of two minds.) It's no wonder that she that got him condemned at *Ephesus*, got the the same further done at *Calcedon*, when she was Empress her self, having made *Martian* Emperour, and her nominal Husband, (for they were not conjugally to know each other.) Is there any thing in this that deserveth the stage? Though *Theodosius* be reproached by Popish Historians

as an Eutychian, or a favourer of them, if credible honest *Socrates* may be believed, there have been few such Princes in the World, (for Piety, his House was a Church; for Patience, never seen angry; for Compassion, would never let a man die for Treason against himself.) But his Sister (a Woman eminent for Wit and Piety) was thought to govern him very much, & specially in the severities against *Nestorius*. *Evagrius* who bitterly reproacheth *Nestorius*, tells us of some writings of his that fell into his hand, in which he saith, that the Emperour was his friend, and would not sign his banishment, and laies the cruelties that he underwent on his Officer: and considering the case of a suffering man, I see nothing unseemly in the Letter to him, which *Evagrius* chargeth with contempt.

§ 2. My wish for the Churches Peace, that the unskilful words of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* had been silenced by neglect, rather than the flame blown up by honouring them with two General Councils disputation, doth with this Gentleman deserve this Replication, [*He cannot be more violent and outrageous, more bitter and malicious under all the provocations imaginable, than he is under that neglect which himself prescribeth for the cure.*] *Ans.* If this be a true accuser, he can prove what he saith: It's easie to say this of any man: But if a man that hath a cholerick Stomack shall swear that there was Aloes in his Physick, his word is no proof. These are the men into whose hands we are by Gods permission falln, while we are cast out, judged to silence, prisons, & beggary, if we do but repeat the words of the Laws and Canons, and in 17 Years time when most that they turned out are dead, if the rest at their own urgent demand do but tell them what they judge unlawful, and answer those that accuse them, they are *outrageous, violent, bitter, and malicious*. As if one that wounds me should sue me for saying, *You hurt me*. It's violence and an unpeaceableness to feel, but none at all in them to *strike or to destroy*. We will give you many thanks if you will hurt us no more than we do you.

§ 3. I said that *one skilful healing man that could explicate ambiguous words, and persuade men to Love and Peace, till they understood each other, had more befriended Truth, Piety, and the Church, than the hereticating Councils did.*] And why, saith he, may not that skilful man shew his skill in Councils, as well as else where?

Ans. Who denieth it? But the question is, how he shall be heard.

heard and prevail? I told you that here *One man in one sentence* did so, by differencing between *mental distinguishing* and *dividing*; even *Basil of Seleucia*, saying, [*Cognoscimus duas naturas, non dividimus; neque divisas, neque confusas dicimus.*] This was true and plain enough, to have ended all the quarrel: But who laid hold on it, or did improve it? What the better was *Nazianzen* for speaking well in the Council at *Constantinople*? Or *Chrysostome* for any thing he could say to the Bishops for himself? I hope few of all that great number of Councils that were *Arian*, *Semiarian*, *Eutychian*, *Monothelites*, for Images, &c. were so bad as to have never a Bishop among them that could or would speak right: But did they prevail? In the very Council at *Trent* were more good Speeches than did prevail; and if *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Zuinglius*, and such others, had not done more good singly by Writing and Preaching, than *Dudithius* could do at *Trent*, or any of them at *Wormes*, or *Ratisbone*, &c. there had been little done. What good did *Philpot* do in the Convocation? Some say one *Paphnutius* turned the Inclination of the first *Nicene* Council for good; But that hearing temper was too short or rare.

§ 4. Next he tells us, that [*in many late Disputes of Justification, &c. we find not that any of these healing men were able to reconcile Parties any more than the Councils of old.*]

Ans. 1. If that were true, it's also true, that they have not made so great and many Parties as Councils did. We have not cast the world into so many Nations of *Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, and other Sects.

Ans. 2. Through God's mercy it is much better than such Historians would make men believe. Dr. *Heylin* tells us what work the *Arminian* Controversie made between Bishop *Land's* Party, and the Parliaments and Abbots Party, as if it had set us all by the Ears. It is not so now: One of your Brethren lately tells us, how that Controversie is quieted: What Contention do you hear of among the Nonconformists about it? No man hath so much as writ a line, that I know of, against my Conciliation in my *Cathol. Theology*. How little stir doth the *Antinomian* Controversie make? If one or two men do vent their displeasure about any of these, we neglect it, and it is presently forgotten. I hear sometime that called *Arminianism* hotly preached in the Parish Churches: It provoketh not me, and I take no notice

notice of it. I (rarely) hear some preach against the *Arminians*: I take no notice of it, and there it dies: Whereas if one should write Challenges and Accusations to the Preachers, we might make work enough for all the Country. I never yet met with many such, but if you make not a War of it, and engage them by opposition, they grow weary themselves, and grow into unobserv'd neglect or contempt. Most of the spreading Errours and Contentions among us have come by the Bellows of too strong or imprudent Opposition or Disputes. I hear of no considerable Doctrinal Strivings among all the Nonconformists now in *England*. One Ignorant Uncalled Fellow is lately crept into *London*, and wrote proud Challenges for Antinomianism, and none answered him, and he is contemned, and hath no Second that I hear of.

§ 5. Though he say [*he is weary, yet he must not pass by*, that when I mention *Socrates* his most high praise of *Theodosius* (living under him) and the miracles which he saith God wrought for him; I say, *if this be true, God owned his Moderation by Miracles, notwithstanding his favouring the Eutychians, more than he did any ways of violence.*] And here the man hath found me in Contradiction, and saith, [*Those miracles could not countenance the Eutychian cause that was after. 2. That the Eutychians were the most violent men.* Such Contradictions he and *L'Estrange* find in my Writings.

Ans. But, 1. Is it true that I said those miracles countenanced the *Eutychian* Cause? I said only that *God owned the Moderation* (not the *Eutychian* Opinion) of a man called an *Eutychian* by the Hereticators, notwithstanding his favouring the *Eutychians*. He was a man that studied the reconciliation of the contending Bishops, and was moderate towards all, but persuaded that the major Vote of the Bishops being against *Nestorius*, and for *Cyril*, and *Dioscorus*, it tended to peace to take that side. His Moderation was the same before the stir with *Eutyches* as after. I only said that God by miracles owned that mans moderation, who is charged with after favouring the *Eutychians*.

2. And what I spake of Moderation opposite to violence, in way of suppressing Hereticks, he feigneth me to speak it as opposite to violence in the *Persons suppressed*: I spake of *Violence* in the Prince as agent, and he feigneth me to speak of Violence in the parties that he dealt with. He may find matter at this rate

to write greater Volumes against any man. I read of none of the Heresies then contended about, *Nestorian* or *Eutychian*, but the accused Bishops were violent for them: But though they were all violent, yet if the question were, whether the Emperour should use violence or Moderation against them, I may say, that God owneth more the way of Moderation.

§ 6. P. 246. he saith [*At Ephesus Eustathius was kickt to death, and all those that durst defend him were threatned to be served in like manner.*] *Ans.* Of this before: His memory failed him: It was not *Eustathius* but *Flavianus*. 2. Yet he after excuseth *Dioscorus* from Heresie; more Bishops than were Hereticks were violent.

§ 7. As to his Reflection, [*“It may be he thinks the Empe-
“rour took a particular Delight in that kind of cruelty, and that
“he had rather one should be kickt to death, than that he should be
“hanged or beheaded; which would not be much to the credit of his
“Moderation: And to say the truth, his Letter to Valentinian
“discovers a strange kind of Spirit; for there he justifies the pro-
“ceedings of the Eutychians at Ephesus, and saies that all things
“were carried on with much freedom and perfect Truth, and Flavi-
“an found guilty of Innovating in Religion. This is but an ill sign
“that Mr. B. is a hater of false History, when he lets this pass un-
“reproved.*]

Ans. 1. Had I reprov'd such an Emperour, I might have expected that some of you would have published me an Enemy to Kings.

Ans. 2. Rather Sir, you and I should hence gather, that all men must have pardon and forbearance, and that for want of that, the names of Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, Greeks, Papists, Protestants, Lutheranes, Calvinists, Prelatists, and Presbyterians, &c. have almost swallowed up the Name, much more the Love of Christians.

Ans. 3. May it not consist with modesty and the hatred of false History, to believe the high praises of this Emperour, published by one that knew him in so pious and credible words as *Socrates* speaks, as I before told you, giving him (to me) a more credible Canonization than the Pope could have done, as a man of eminent holiness, wonderful Clemency, that would not let a Traitor go out of the Gates towards the place of Execution; and when he was moved to any Execution, answered, he had rather, were

were he able, restore the Dead to Life: excelling all the Clergy in meekness, and never seen angry. May not I who am branded for a railer by meek Prelatists, be tolerated to think charitably of such an Emperour, and to wish that the world had many more such.

Ans. 4. Judges are taken for unjust if they will not hear both sides speak. And why should not I regard the words of such an Emperour, as well as of one half the Bishops against the other?

Ans. 5. Surely Modesty requireth me to think that the Emperour was much more capable of knowing the truth of the acts of his own Subjects, when his Servants present gave him an account of them, than I am 1200 Years after: And so good a man would not willingly lye.

Ans. 6. Therefore my own Conclusion is, God is true and all men are Lyars, that is, untrusty: and that *Eudocia* and his Courtiers had much power with him for *Dioscorus* against *Flavian*, as *Pulcheria* had against *Nestorius*; but that it was the Peace and Concord of the Bishops which he most studied, and thought that it lay in going with the major part. And I believe things were bad on both sides, and worse than the Emperour thought with the Eutychian Bishops, and worse than others say with their Adversaries; and that the Emperour, though fallible, was as *Socrates* saith, beyond all the Clergie.

But here I see that I am blamed for not railing against a meek and pious Emperour, and as a Railer for lamenting the sins of the Clergie.

§ 8. About the Council of *Calcedon* he accuseth me in general, as [*disingeniously mincing the Acts, and using all the foul play possible.*]

Easily said: And what's the proof? Why, 1. Leave out that they were violently beaten to it.

Ans. The Reader may see that this is false: I mention it off, pag. 101. [*The Bishops answered, that they did it against their Wills, being under fear: Condemnation and banishment was threatened, Souldiers were there with Clubs and Swords.*] Shall I believe this man against such as *Socrates*, of things done 1200 Years ago, that will face me down with such untruths about my own yet visible Writings?

2. But is it falshood to omit what is said in such and so many Volumns? May not the Reader there see it? Do I contradict it?

Must I write many Folio's or nothing? I refer all Readers to the Acts.

§ 9. But he saith, [*It would go near to excuse their Compliance with a merciful man.*]

Ans. I confess such are not so bad as the Clergy-men, that will sin for meer Preferment, and will write against, and revile, and call for Execution on those that will not do as they. But if Nonconformists after 19 Years Ejection and Reproach, and Sufferings by more than Threats, should at last surrender to heinous sin, can he think it would excuse their Compliance, when Christ saith, *Luk. 14 33. He that forsaketh not all that he hath cannot be my Disciple?* If he think Martyrdom a work of Supererogation, he is dangerously mistaken. And he that to day thinks *Threatning* and *Danger* an *Excuse* for his sin, may to morrow think *Poverty*, and the next day the desire of *Preferment* an excuse.

§ 10. *Dioscorus* and the *Eutychians* holding close to the Council of *Nice*, as sufficient, as a Test of the Orthodox, to which nothing was to be added, in reciting this he hath found my Ignorance in translating [*retractat*] by [*retract.*]. Is not the English word of the same sence with the Latine? If not, and I be ignorant in English too, what wrong is that to any Bishop?

§ 11. When he had charged *Nonsense* and *Confusion* on that which he understood not, and mentioned *Eusib. Doril.* giving the Lye to *Eutyches*, he confesseth that the thing was true.

§ 12. P. 253. He saith, *When the giddy rabble of Monks with Swords and staves, like Bedlams broke loose, run upon them----* I should rather pity them than insult.

Ans. If the History be an insulting, his own credited Historians insult by recording it. If noting it as a fault be insulting, then a motion to Repentance is insulting, and if he would have us pity them for their sin, and not only for their suffering, that is insulting too: But to own their sin, and draw men to imitate them, shall be none of my Compassion.

He minds me of *Peters* Denial, and the Disciples forsaking Christ. Alas! he is not a man that is not sensible of Humane frailty? But is it not therefore to be blamed? Why doth Scripture mention it, but that we may avoid the like? Is it to tempt others to the like? Did Christ insult when he said to *Peter*, *Get thee behind me Satan, &c.*

§ 13. He next falls into his familiar strain, to carry that ex
Cathedra

Cathedra, by sentence, which he cannot do by proof, and faith, [When I venture on Observations it's an even lay that I am out.]
Ans. That is, I am out of the way of his Magistracy, Precon-
 ceipt and Interest.

It is my Conciliatory words that the peaceable man is an-
 gry at, viz. [That this doleful, Contentious, Anathematizing,
 and ruining of each other, was about the sense of ambiguous words,
 and they were both of one mind in the matter and knew it not.] He
 cannot but confess, that my judgment of them is softer
 than theirs that hereticate each other. And *Derodon* hath
 fully proved that this Council when they condemned *Nestorius*,
 were of his Judgment in the whole matter, and said but the
 same as he.

§ 14. As to his telling me, that *Eutyches* denied Christ to be
 truly and properly man, I will no more believe him, than if he
 had said *Cyril* did so.

§ 15. But he saith, the *Monothelites* were the genuine *Disci-
 ples* of *Eutyches*. They were of his mind in that Consequence:
 And such another Controversie it was. And how much greater
 error against our Belief of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
 have I proved e. g. to be, in your *Dr. Sherlocks* Book; And yet
 I hope he meant better than he spake.

§ 16. P. 255. He confesseth of one Party what I said, viz.
 [“Of *Dioscorus* and *Flavian*, I am apt to believe they were much
 “of the same Opinion as to the point in controversie, and knew it
 “well enough; which was the only cause why *Dioscorus* with his
 “party of Bishops and Monks, would not endure to come to any De-
 “bate of the matter, for fear it would appear that they all agreed,
 “and then there would have been no pretence to condemn *Flavian*,
 “which was the Design, if not of the Emperor, yet at least of those
 “that governed him.”]

Ans. Fie Dr. will you thus abuse so many Orthodox Bishops?
 And almost condemn your vindicating Book? And harden me in
 my Error? But I am much of your mind, and if one of us err,
 so doth the other.

§ 17. And I like his Ingenuity, saying *Anatolius* confesseth in
 Council, that *Dioscorus* was not condemned for Heresie but Tyranny,
 and no man contradicted him. *Ans.* Not in answer to those words,
 but the Accusations of many contradicted him before.

§ 18. That they mean one thing by their various expressions
 I have

I have fully proved, and he no whit confuteth: That the *Euty-*
chians acknowledged no distinct *Properties*, and *Nestorius* own-
 ed an Unity but in *Dignity* and *Title* only, are his flat flanders, to
 be no way proved but by their Adversaries accusations. The ve-
 ry words I named even now, [*Divino, mirabili, sublimi nexu.*] and many clearer, shew it of *Nestorius*. And I wish him to take
 heed himself how he defineth the Hypostatical Union, lest the
 next General Council (if ever there be one) make him an Here-
 tick.

Can he believe that the great number of *Eutychean* Bishops
 were so mad, as not to know that Christs Mortality, possibility,
 material Quantity, Shape, &c. were the properties of Christs
 Humanity and not his Deity? But some Men can believe any
 thing well or ill, reasonable or unreasonable, as Interest and af-
 fection lead them.

§ 19. He saith, that [*If it were a faction that denied this, it
 was a strong one, and never was opposed by any Person before Mr.
 Baxter.*]

Ans. I heard you were a young man; but if you be not above
 one Hundred Years old, your reading cannot be great enough
 to excuse this confidence from such temerity as rendereth you
 the less credible. How many Thousand Books be they which
 you or I never read? How know you that none of them all op-
 pose it? But would you persuade the Reader that I call it a Fa-
 ction, to believe your sence of these Councils? Factionous men
 are forwardest to judge others Hereticks without cause; and all
 that I say is, that *Though such deny my Assertion it is true*: Doth
 it follow that I take all for *factions* that deny it? If I had said,
 [*Though Papists deny it,*] that had not been all one as to say, [*All
 are Papists that deny it.*]

2. But did never any person oppose it? 1. I named you *Da-
 vid Derodon* before, who though he largely labour to prove *Cy-
 ril* an *Eutychean* in words and sence, and that by *persons* he did mean
Natura, and not *Persona*, yet as to *Nestorius* he copiously pre-
 veth, that the Council of *Calcedon* was just of his Mind, and
 condemned him for want of Understanding him. Though you
 have not seen that Book of *Derodons*, I have, and you should not
 judge of what you never saw.

2. *Luther de Conciliis* first accuseth *Nestorius* as a Heretick,
 denying Christ's Godhead, or holding two Persons; And present-
 ly

ly retracts it, and confesseth he was seduced by believing the Papists, but (though he had not read much of the Councils, but what he had gathered out of the *Tripartite* and such Historians) yet he gathered from the Passages of the History, that the difference lay only in words, which he openeth at large, and yet turns it sharply against *Nestorius*, for thinking that we may not speak of Christs Godhead or Manhood by communicated names or Attributes, and greatly rejoiceth that this serverh his turn in his Opinion about Consubstantiation and Sacramental words.

Because I will leave nothing in doubt with you, but whether *Luther* was before my days, and lest you say again that I cite Books which I see not, I will give you some of his words, beginning earlier, (not translating lest I have not skill enough) but they are so like mine, that I doubt you will be no Luthere.

De Concil. pag. 175. *Ecclesie Romana & C. P. ambitiose rixata sunt de re nihili, vanissimis & nugacissimis nanis donec tandem utraque horribiliter vastata & deleta est.--- Illa omnia libentius recito, ut videat prudens Lector quomodo ex tam celebri Synodo Constantinopolitana, seu ex fonte manaverint semina maximarum Confusionum, propterea quod ibi Episcopus Ecclesie ut Patriarcha fuerat Praefectus.--- p. 178. Quam horribilia certamina & contentiones moverunt hi duo Episcopi de primatu: ut facile judicari posset Spiritum sanctum non esse authorem hujus Instituti: Alia habet Episcopus longe potiora quae agat, quam sunt hi pueriles & inepti ludi.--- Praemonemur quod Concilia prorsus nihil novi debent comminisci vel tradere.*

De Concil. Ephes. p. 180, 181. *Excesserant jam è vivis sancti Patres, & illi optimi Episcopi, S. Ambrosius, S. Martinus, S. Hieronymus, S. Augustinus (qui eo ipso anno quo Synodus coacta est mortuus est) S. Hilarius, S. Eusebius & similes; eorumque loco prorsus dissimiles patres suborti fuerant. Ita ut Imperator Theodosius amplius eligi Episcopum C. P. ex Sacerdotibus vel Clericis Civitatis C. P. nollet: hanc ob causam quod plerumque essent superbi, ambitiosi, morosi, qui movere certamina, & tumultus in Ecclesiis plerumque tolerant.--- p. 182. Cum jam videret Nestorius tantas turbas ortas ex corruptela multiplici, gemens prorupit in hac verba, Tollamus è medio omnes ambiguitates quae primum prae buerunt occasiones istis certaminibus, & fateamur palam Mariam recte vocari Matrem Dei. Sed nihil profecit Nestorius, ne tunc quidem*
cum

cum revocaret suum errorem; sed voce publica condemnatus, ex orbe Imperii universo ejectus & explosus est: Quanquam illi duo Episcopi Antiochenus & Alexandrinus, etiam post Concilium cum redissent in suas Ecclesias, se ipsi mutuis convitiis lacerabant, & omnibus diris devovebant: Etsi postea res ad placidum exitum deducta est: Quanquam tamen dolendum hoc, & effusis lachrymis deplorandum in Ecclesia est, tam præstantes viros adeo indulgisse suis affectibus, ut instar mulierum aut puerorum ineptissime inter se rixarentur. Omnino fuisset eis opus aliquo Constantino, qui ipsorum jurgia & contentiosa scripta etiam coniecisset in ignem.--- p. 184. Mentioning the false accusations of Nestorius, making two Persons, &c. [Atque adeo intricata & confusa sunt quæ scribunt, ut existimem ne quidem ipsos scire in hunc usque diem, quid & propter quas causas damnaverint Nestorium. Hoc inde conjicito. Fatentur credidisse Nestorium quod Christus sit Deus & Homo--- ex his certum est quod Nestorius non crediderit Christum esse purum hominem.--- Constat Nestorium non duos sed unum Christum credidisse, id quod ipsorum verba testantur---ideoque non potuit credere esse duas personas. Nec ullibi reperitur in historiis quod Nestorius unum Christum crediderit habere duas personas, nisi quod Pontifices & eorum historia ita arguantur. Apparet Papam & scriptores Pontificios hæc verba contra Nestorium calumniose & veteratorie finxisse, quod Christum pro puro homine & non pro Deo, & quod unum Christum pro duabus personis vel gemino Christo habuerit.--- Nestorius fuit homo inflatus tumens Pharisaico fastu, & indoctus; Et cum subito esset evectus ad supremum fastigium Ecclesie, adeo ut haberetur pro summo Pontifice, Patriarcha, somniabat se anum antecellere doctrina & eruditione omnes homines in toto genere humano, nec sibi opus esse lectione librorum qui erant scripti à Majoribus aut aliis, nec in explicatione magnarum rerum retinendos esse modos loquendi antiquitus receptos in Ecclesia puriore; sed quia & voce valebat, & ex temporali facundia volebat esse audisantis, Doctor vel Magister, & formas loquendi quibus ipse uteretur tantum recipiendas esse in Ecclesia, non alias. Et tali fastu armatus adoriebatur illum articulum. Maria est mater Dei, aut genetrix Dei; Ibi vicissim Episcopos in adversa parte invenit perinde inflatos, quibus vehementer displicebat Nestorii fastus, in primis Cyrillum Alexandrinum: quia tunc nullus erat Augustinus aut Ambrosius.---p. 189. Hinc manifestum est, quod Nestorius ut homo imprudens & vanissima persuasionem adductus, loquatur quidem bono zelo de Christo: sed

ex mera inscitia non intelligat quid & quomodo loquatur.--- p. 192. Non est Nestorii error quod Christum credit tantum esse purum hominem, nec in duas personas eum dirimi; sed duas naturas Deum & hominem in una persona uniri fatetur: sed communicationem idiomatum non vult concedere. Objiciat autem hic aliquis, Nestorium insidiosè confessam esse, quod Christus Deus sit & una persona. Resp. Quod non: Tam ingeniosus enim & industrius non fuit, sed serio ita judicavit.--- Ad hæc accessit aliorum Episcoporum insolentia, qui non cogitaverunt quomodo sananda essent talia vulnera, sed multo magis irritandis & resfricandis causam dederunt. Vide cetera.

P. 202. De Concil. Calcedon. Adeo indulgebant sancti Patres mutuis odiis & dissensionibus ut alter non facile vellet alteri cedere--- shewing the uncertainty of the Histories of this Council, and the Lies of the Papists not to be trusted. Jam divina qua ratione ego ero salvandus, qui nec ipsum Concilium assequor, nec causam Concilii satis perspicio. p. 205. Quod Eutyches non tantum unam in Christo naturam esse statuat, ostendunt Papistarum Verba, qui dicunt Eutychen concessisse in Christo duas naturas, viz. Divinitatem & Humanitatem, quæ à Divinitate est assumpta--- Sed quid Eutyches voluerit quod postea in Christo tantum Divina natura manserit, deserta humana, ibi prorsus sunt muti; & re nondum certa cognita dicunt, statuisse Eutychen quod in Christo duæ naturæ, & tamen non duæ sed una natura sit: Ita postea historiae fiunt incertæ & obscuræ, ut nemo possit intelligere quid Eutyches senserit, aut quid Pontificia historiae sentiant. Amittimus hisce ambagibus concilium una cum causis propter quas convocatum est.--- Ego meas conjecturas recitabo: si rem assequor, bene; si non, non propterea labefactabitur fides Christiana. Eutychis opinio (sicut & Nestorii) errat circa idiomata, quamvis alio modo. Nestorius non vult idiomata humanitatis tribuere Divinitati in Christo:--- Contra Eutyches non vult idiomata divinitatis tribuere humanitati, etiamsi & ipse firmiter & mordicus retineat Christum esse verum Deum & hominem. Ut si dicerem in Concione publica, Verbum filium Dei esse conditorem Cæli & Terræ equalem Patri ab æterno--- Et hoc Verbum, illum filium Dei esse verum hominem: Hoc concedit mihi Eutyches nihil dubitans. Jam si porro dicam, Quod ille homo Christus sit conditor cæli & terræ, hoc offendit Eutychen, qui putat prorsus esse absurdum dicere, Homo creat cælum & terram.--- P. 210. Ibi vides quod idiomata facili occasione homines non præmonitos offendant & perturbent. Hic erat subveniendum teneris Conscientiis fraterna, amica & salutaris admonitione

nitione, nec superbissimi errantes abjiciendi essent. Utinam in eo iudicio non respondeat eventus: sed vereor profecto aliquos hereticos in novissimo die fieri iudices; & illos ipsos Episcopos penes quos fuit iudicandi potestas, in aeternum damnatos, nisi Deus est mirabilis & incomprehensibilis in suis iudiciis; nisi quod scimus eum esse propitium humilibus & insensissimum superbis. Et praesertim in Conciliis & Ecclesiis nihil erit agendum zelo vel invidia, vel superbia, quia Deus non potest ferre.

§ 20. Readers, you see what tedious work some men can make us: Many are scandalized, as if we gave them false History, if we do not thus confute them; and if we do, we tire our selves and you. If I should cite you many more thus to confute his falshood, that never person before me opposed that Faction, you would be weary of it.

§ 21. Yet now my hand is in, you shall see further how much Luther was for the same that I have written. [*Qui volet poterit ulterius legere acta Concilii, privata opera. Ego ad tedium & nauseam usq; legi ista; ejusmodi Chaos ceremoniarum & confusionum est ibi, ut videatur recte judicasse Greg. Naz. qui Synodos eruditioribus & sedatioribus interfuit,-- & scribit [Sic affectus sum si dicenda est veritas, ut malim omnes Episcoporum conventus vitare, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, aut qui magis tolleret mala quam auget. Nam cupiditas contentionis & principatus, & emulatio vincunt rationem. Ut profecto miror quod propter haec verba non dudum eum excommunicaverunt ut atrocissimum hereticum. Sed quid sit quod dicit in Synodis Episcopos certasse ambitione, superbia, quidovermeia, habes in hac Synodo clarissimum exemplum. Quod autem certum sit quod hic dicit se nullius Synodi vidisse finem bonum, docent nos historia: Nam Ariana heresis locus fuit ante Nicenum Concilium pra illa confusione quam ipsi post Concilium excitaverunt, (that was not long of the Synod.) Talis etiam fuit Macedonici & Nestoriani Concilia. Nam illa pars quae est condemnata eo fuit conjunctior, ut tali specie concordiae & unitatis suas prestigias pingerent quasi nulli iusta ratione damnari possent. Subinde excitarunt majora certamina contra Concilia quae ipsi non recte intelligebant.---* P. 247. Illud possum facillime probare quod miser ille Pastor in Hippone S. Augustinus plus docuit quam omnia Concilia--- Dicam & quiddam amplius: Majus Lumen accedit Doctrina Christiana ex Catechismo puerili quam ex omnibus Conciliis, & oratio Dominica & decem praecepta plus continent doctrinae & eruditionis quam omnia Concilia.

§ 2. Because I recite the words of the Bishops crying *Peccavimus*, he exclaimeth against me, as making *Repentance* and *Recantation* a derision, and this by the *Spirit of Schism* which is nice in point of honour, no Conviction shall be able to reclaim it, though in the most indefensible thing in the World.]

Ans. Add but with the Inquisitors, [*Therefore burn them as hopeless,*] and you are come to the end of your Lesson. The penetrating Wits of some men are admirable. This man whose face I never saw, knoweth my heart so much better than my self and my acquaintance, that he can tell that it is to avoid dishonour that I avoid Repentance, when I offer him my Oath, that if I have any knowledge of my own desire, I would thank him as my dearest Friend, who will by Evidence shew me any necessary truth that I deny, or Falshood that I hold, and will joyfully publish my recantation.

2. And he can see Schism in my forbearing known and heinous sin in the satisfaction of my Conscience, while I write, and preach, and practise Communion with their Church, and can see none in silencing Thousands, and *ipso facto* excommunicating many more Thousands of godly Christians, and denying Baptism and the Lords Supper to such as think it is sinful to do--- he knows what.

3. And he can see those things to be most indefensible, which after our best study we take to be clear, and can get no rational Reply to our defence.

4. And (for want of memory or tenderness of his partners veracity) when their Advocates have so oft and scornfully charged me with *Retractions*, and also told the World how much my own party (as they call them) speak against me, and my many large and free oppositions to the faults of Nonconformists that run into any extream, do all proclaim how little I have set by such honour; yea, when himself saith that I have fiercely contended against all Sects and Parties, and they call me *Ishmael*, whose hand is against every man: After all this to proclaim as aforesaid, such obstinate Impenitence for the love of Honour, I confess doth no more further my conviction than the Oath of an Irish Witness would have done: For if he had sworn it, I would have shewed my Books and their contrary testimony, and have askt him, whose honouring of me is it that I buy so dearly? It is not the Rulers, nor the Prelates, nor their Clergy,

nor their adherents, noble or ignoble: And if I have willingly and laboriously displeased and lost the Sectaries too, whose honour is it that I sell my Soul for?

§ 23. But did the man think that *Unconstancy* and *compliance* with powerful Heresie, is the same thing with Repentance for it? Or is it well done to persuade the Reader that it is Repentance or Retractation of Heresie I write against, when I recite the words of the Council and their own? Do I say that *peccavimus* was their sin?

§ 24. And I would humbly desire him in time to consider,
1. Whether it was a venial sin not to be named by me, when the most zealous Papists and Historians name it, for so great a number of Bishops to turn and turn again so often, and that with Anathematizing one year of what they voted for before with Anathema to the contrary. I crave your impartial consideration but of two Instances: How oft did they with Anathema's vote for and against the Council of *Calcedon* as the Emperours changed? Yea in the same Usurpers time, *Basiliscus*, when he changed himself. 2. In the case of Images: How oft did they change in Councils, for them and against them, as the Princes changed? Sir, we mind this with lamentation and not insultingly: But if you take these for venial little sins, and our not swearing and covenanting all that you bid us for a mortal sin, are you not partial?

2. And I would wish you to think on it again, before you make this guilt your own, by mincing and excusing it; and lest you make all other mens sin your own, whom hereby you encourage in the imitation of them. These are not things indifferent.

3. And do not so dishonour Prelacy, and your Church and Discipline, as to tell the World that these in Bishops are little things; what then is left for you to stick at? No man should make light of such Beams in the Eyes of those that should be the most pure, while they are pulling the mote of scrupling a Ceremony, yea an Oath. &c. from their Brothers Eye, and that by such Iron Instruments as they use.

§ 25. Next comes his Logical terms, [*throwing dirt, outrageous, bitter, malicious, &c.*] And what's the matter? [*I give not one loose at Emperours and Courts: scorning to change the game, charging the Bishops with the faults of the Magistrate, and laying*
all

all the blame on them.] In what words? I say, [so far could fierce, and factious Prelates prevail with a pious and peaceable Prince, by the pretences of opposing Heresie and Schism.

Ans. 1. Was he not a most pious and peaceable Prince? Then *Socrates* that knew him, and protesteth against flattery, and many others, are not to be believed? yea, if he excelled not the Bishops?

2. Do I say that none but the Bishops persuaded him? Where do I lay all the fault on them? Do I not after name the Emperess *Eudocia*, as the Agent to persuade him for the Eutychians, and *Pulcheria* to persuade him against *Nestorius*: My words are visible.

3. What Bishops were they that persuaded him to make a Law to confirm the *Ephesine*, Eutychian Council? Was it not *Dioscorus* and the Eutychians? Were they not Bishops? Did they not do it? Yea, doth not this man oft revile them far more bitterly than ever I did, and revile me for speaking so charitably of them? Would you ever have expected that the same man should have so reviled me, for saying that these Eutychian Bishops prevailed with a good Emperour to confirm that Council of Eutychians?

4. Is it a sin not to speak hardlier of so good a Prince, who after repented and punished his Wife and Eunuch for persuading him? It was a blaming him to tell to what he was persuaded.

Truly the mans anger here for my blaming the Eutychian Bishops, in condemnation of whom he hath poured out so much more than I, doth make me think that there is somewhat in the sound of some words, that turns his wrath this way or that: When he hears the name of an Eutychian, *away with them, speak not easily of them.* When the same men are called Bishops, it's *malice, outrageous bitterness* to blame them for getting a Law to confirm that called an Heretical, Murdering, Latrocinian Council. His words are, p. 146. [*Were there ever greater violences committed than in that infamous Conventicle at Ephesus?*]

§ 26. P. 263. He confesseth that the *Debate between the Council and the Egyptian Bishops was something too warm*: but saith that heat was not altogether without reason. *Ans.* This is his way to confess their faults, and then rail at me for bare reciting the words of the Debate or History. But it was not without reason: He confesseth

confelleth not so much as this of the silencing and ruining Ministers now. It shall not be the use of my reason to make Fig-leaves to cloath and cover the sins which God abhorreth.

Men will be men he saith, wherever they are placed, whether in a Council or in the Church, or even at the Altar.

Ans. By *Men* I suppose he meaneth Sinners: and it's true. But of all Sinners Oh that God would save his Church from those who hate reproof, and cherish the worst that will be for them, and excommunicate and prosecute the most conscionable that will not obey them in things which they call indifferent, for fear of sinning against God.

§ 27. His trifling words about *Leo* and *Rome* are not worthy of an Answer.

§ 28. He hath, P. 268. hit again on the oversight which I before confessed, even the effect of my necessitated haste, that in translating *Theodore's* words I put (*truly*) in the wrong place: I ask him forgiveness, and the Bishops, if that be any slander against them; which is nothing to them.

§ 29. He saith, P. 269. [*There is no truth in what our Author saith, that Ibas Epistle was acquit.*] *Ans.* There is no truth in saying that I said it was, when my words were disjunctive, [*The Epistle was acquit, or at least the Bishop upon the reading of it.*] He saith, *Ibas was not acquit on the reading the Epistle, but on the defence he made, that he communicated with Cyril.* *Ans.* His Accusations of Falshood are commonly Boyish Quibbles. His Defence and the Reading of his Letter go together, and in *Bin-nius* the Letter, and the Letters of the Clergy of *Edeffa* are the last things done before he is discharged.

§ 30. P. 270. He saith, [*The truth is, the Eastern Bishops were not so ingenuous and fair after their reconciliation with Cyril, &c.*] Thus he becomes himself still an accuser of the Bishops.

§ 31. Because I say that the Judges past sentence to cast out both *Stephen* and *Bassian* from *Ephesus*, and all consented, he saith, [*One would think here the Judges passed sentence against the consent or Inclination of the Bishops.*] *Ans.* There is no end of answering your thinkings. I did not say that the Judges passed the Councils Sentence but their own: And whether it were against the *Fore-inclination* of the Council let any Reader judge, when the Judges asking the Council their sence, [*Rei, Episcopi clamaverunt, iustitia Bassianum vocat: Regula valeant.* The Judges

Judges answered them that their judgment was that both were to be cast out, and a third chosen, and the Council suddenly consented. If he would be believed contradicting this he must deny the Acts.

§ 32. He hath found matter for a quibble against *tasting Poterius Flesh with their Teeth*. Teeth taste not: Dangerous false History, or want of Learning is learnedly here discovered. When he cannot deny the most woeful, calamitous dissensions which followed the *Calcedon Council*, he saith, [*Was it the misfortune or the fault of these only not to be able to heal the differences of the Church? Or was the defect in the Councils, or the blame to be imputed to those obstinate men that opposed the Rule established by them?*]

Ans. No: They were neither the first nor the last that have miscarried. Nor are we the first that suffer under such miscarriage. It was the misfortune of the Churches to have such Physicians: But as it is the honour of some Physicians to shew how many Patients they have cured, so is it of some others, when most die under their hands, to be able to say, that it was long of the Patients that would not be ruled, or that they killed them *secundum artem*. It was a Proverb in *Sutton-Coldfield*, [*Who begun?*] A poor man had but one Ass and he loaded him too hard, and the Ass being in pain bit his Master a little on the Buttock; and his Master knockt him down, and killed him; and when he saw him dying, [*Well, (saith he) But who begun?*] But who had the loss? There be Clergy-Men that can impenitently see the *Strages*, the divisions, the swarms of sin that are the consequents of their needless masterly Impositions, and wipe their mouths and say, It was the obstinacy of those that would not be ruled by us! They kill a Flea on a mans Forehead with a Beetle, and say they meant not to kill the man.

But if that Councils Acts were a fit means to cure the Churches Divisions, how came they to be presently and through many Ages, yea, ever since to this day, thereby increased so many fold? Though the Assembly at *Jerusalem* cured not all the Jewish Teachers of their blind Zeal for *Moses Law*, it was so far from increasing the Dissensions and number of Dissenters, that it satisfied the Gentile Christians for the most part, and many of the Jewish, and greatly diminished the Discord. It's one thing *not wholly to cure*, and another to *make far worse*.

§ 33. He instanceth also in the *Dort Synod* that made things worse.

Ans. 1. The Synod of *Dort* made things the worse in their own Country, not by their *Doctrinal Decisions*, but by too much of the *Masterly Spirit*, engaging the Magistrates against the *Arminians* in the use of the Sword. Whether it be true that they say, that they were necessitated to do what they did against *Barneveldt* and *Grotius* for the safety of their State, I am no Judge: But I am sure it is of an ill sound to those that read it: And so is it to read in *Episcopius* and others, what violence the People have used against the *Arminians*, and they were fain to tolerate them when all was done.

And it's no wonder that the Dissention increased in *England*, when the Clergy would not long stand to the decrees that by our own six Delegates were moderated: *Dr. Heylin* tells you how *Bishop Laud's* Zeal was the cause of our following Contentions: And how? By bearing down all that were against him.

2. But the meer *Doctrinal Decrees* of the Synod of *Dort* are so moderate and healing, that where Violence hath been forborn, and Reason used, many have been pacified by them. And

3. What that Synod did not, a few private Peace-makers have much done: The Writings of *Camero Amyraldus*, *Capellus*, *Placens*, *Testardus*, *Lud. Crocius*, *Mat. Martinus*, *Conr. Bergius*, *Joh. Bergius*, *Blondel*, *Daile*, and above all, *Le Blank's* have for ought I hear, half ended the controversie. And having my self written one Book (*Cathol. Theologie*) for Reconciliation, I have not to this day had a word of Contradiction, but the Consent of very many. And as I before noted, Is not even in *London* where other differences might exasperate, yet this Controversie almost laid to sleep? But if our *Arminians* will but get as severe Laws and Canons made against them that are not of their Opinions, as be against them that dare not conform to the *Diocesane Model* and the rest, they shall quickly see this quarrel revived. The Articles of the Church of *England* determine not these Controversies, and that is our Peace. Put in but one determining Article against either side, and it will break us more in pieces. Doth not our own Case and Experience then confute those over-doing Councils?

§ 34. His next Instance is that of the *Westminster Assembly*,-- So far from reconciling the People, that after this they were distracted

tracted into innumerable Schisms: Never was there so lamentable a face of things, never such variety of Heresies, and such Wantonness, and Extravagancy, in blaspheming God under pretence of Religion and Conscience: And this is the State whither the same manner of men are driving again.

Ans. 1. I say again I knew so many of that Assembly, as that I do not think that the Christian World had ever an Assembly of more able and truly pious Clergy-Men, these 1300 Years at least. But these Upstarts that knew them not can tell us any thing that Faction hath taught them to believe concerning them and others. The Parliament was by seeming necessity drawn to gratifie the Scots: The Assembly, though Conformists, all, save Eight or Nine, were as sensible as the Nonconformists of the mischiefs of silencing worthy Ministers, and forbidding Afternoon Sermons, and such like; and they were as much against Arminianism and Popery as the Church of *England* was in A.B.P. *Abbat's* days, and as much as he against the Doctrine of *Mainwaring* and *Sibthorp*: And the Parliament absolutely restrained them from debating any thing but what they proposed to them; so that they that were for the Primitive Episcopacy had no liberty to debate it, or speak for it, but on the by. But when the Covenant was offered them against Prelacy, they were about to enter a Protestation against it, and were stopt only by limiting the renunciation to the English frame described in an explicatory Parenthesis. But for my part I think them much to be blamed, that they did not, though against that prohibition, resolve to propose such moderate healing terms to the Parliament as were agreeable to their judgments, or at least have testified against the limiting of Church Concord to such narrow termes, as must exclude such men as were for the English Episcopacy: They might easily have known, that the number of such in *England* was so great, as that an excluding Law must needs be an Engine of great Division; and that Conquest will not change mens Judgments.

And as I doubt not but the five Dissenting Independents were greatly to blame, for making such a stir for leave to gather their Churches, when nothing was imposed on them which they could accuse; So I doubt not but the Assembly were to be blamed for making a greater noise against errors than they had cause for. Their desire of Concord, which was good itself, did raise

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them to too great Expectations of it, and too great impatience of little differences. They published their Testimony against the errours of the times, in which they took in Dr. *Hammond*, and made many differences worse than they were, too like the old Hereticators. And they wanted that skill to compose their differences with the Independents, as was needful to that end, and might have been attained. And will the faults of that Assembly justify the far greater faults of others? But

2. This sort of Historians do much more differ from us about the matters of Fact, which our Eyes have dayly seen, yea, about our own Thoughts and Minds, than about the History of the ancient Church. The case was very far different from that which he describeth. Mr. *Lawson*, a Conformist, saith, [There was never better Preaching, Piety encouraged and encreased, &c. than at that time. In all the Counties where I was acquainted, there were many young Orthodox faithful Preachers, that gave themselves wholly to do good, for one that was ten Years before, and not any considerable number noted for any immorality: We were in the County where I lived almost all of one mind; for Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independents uniting in that which they agreed in, and leaving all to Liberty in the rest, we lived in constant Brotherly Love and Peace without Dissention. I never knew of any of a divers Religion in all the County, save at the end, in one or two corners about Twenty Quakers: And near me were about Twenty otherwise Orthodox, that denied Infant-Baptism, (and perhaps as many more in the whole County,) and Two or Three ignorant Socinians. In the next County I heard not of so many Heterodox: Never did I see, before or since, so much Love and Concord among Ministers, and all religious People, nor read of any Age that had so much for 1300 Years. And whereas the common cry is, Oh, but they were all Rebels against the King! I have named abundance of the Ministers in mine Apology to Dr. *Good*, (who being Episcopal was a Guide in our Meetings, and after so accused the Nonconformists) and challenged him to name one of them that ever meddled with Wars. I knew none in all the County that was in any Army save the King's, save Mr. *Hopkins* of *Evesham* (dead) and my self, and one that is a Conformist, and one Independent (dead.)

But it's true, that they were then so set upon Parish Reformation and Concord, that they were more troubled at any one that

that did turn Quaker, or against Infant Baptism, than some indifferent Persons are at Multitudes. And I was one that disputed most against them, and wrote against some distant Antinomians, mostly Souldiers; But our Disputes satisfied and confirmed all our Neighbours more than Prisons would have done. We punished none of them, and none of our People there turned to them. But I confess we were commonly too little sensible, how much hurtful Violence hindereth Concord, more than loving forbearance of tolerable differences. As too many were how much for Peace they should have abated of the Zeal for their private Opinions, which they thought to be better than they were. We were much like the days that followed the Apostles, which had some troublesome Sectaries, but the main Body of Christians did cleave together in Love, till success had puffed up a rebellious Army to make themselves Rulers, to the Confusion of themselves and others.

§ 35. At last mentioning the common Dissentions of the Churches, he seems to resolve the Question, *What then must be done?* But he puts us off only with the Negative Answer, that [*the Rule, i. e. of our Uniformity is not to be altered. And why? [We have no assurance that we shall find any Conformity to it more than we have now.]*]

Ans. I must not call this Answer as it deserveth.

1. You were about dealing otherwise with the Papists: Dr. Heylin tells us how much they were to have altered for Concord: Mr. Thorndike threatens the Land, if you alter not the Oath of Supremacy for them: The name of the Pope and Anti-Christ hath been expunged for them; yet you said not, *We know not that they will come any nearer us.*

2. By these measures a Rag or a Ceremony should never be abated for the Peace and Concord of any Church or Kingdom: You may still say we are not sure that this will serve them. The Pope may say so, where he refuseth to abate the shaving of the Priests Beards, or the least of his Impositions; yea he knows that would not serve. They said so to the *Bohemians* four Demands: They concluded so at first against *Luther*. This very Argument hath kept them from all Reformation.

3. Can you find nothing in your Impositions that in the nature of the thing is worthy to be altered? If not, you have more or less Wisdom than Bishop *Morton*, and the rest of the Church

Doctors who at *Westminster* motioned so many Alterations. If one should but then move you to correct your known false Rule for finding *Easterday*, or to give Parents leave to be the first Promisers for their own Children, and Godfathers but their seconds, or not to deny Christendom and Communion for that or a Ceremony: No, come on it what will, nothing must be altered, lest men ask more. And yet you preach against Clergy Infallibility, (or subscribe at least.)

4. But if you are so much against altering, why did you alter to our greater suffering, and add as much more (yea five times more) to the former Task and Burden? You can no doubt say somewhat for all this.

5. And when it is the same things that the old Nonconformists still asked, and we since 1660 ask yet less, what reason had you to raise that suspicion that we will not be satisfied with what we ask? Have we given you any cause? If you mean that perhaps there be some still that may be unsatisfied, will you deny Peace to so many that beg it of you, because others will not accept it on their Terms? Or will you never agree with any lest some disagreement should arise hereafter.

Some Travellers were assaulted by the high way by a Captain of Souldiers, who took all their Money, Swords and Horses, and swore he would kill them if they would not take an Oath to conceal him: One took the Oath to save his Life, another scrupled it: They begg'd his Mercy to restore so much as would bring them home: He askt them what would satisfy them: One would have his Horse, another his Sword, another part of his Money. He told them, *You are a Company of Rogues, that can neither agree what to ask, nor give me assurance if I give you this you will ask no more.* I compare not the Authority but the Reasons of the Denial.

§ 36. But seeing no abatement of their Canons, &c. must be granted, what is it that must cause our Concord? He would not tell you; but it's discernible what's left: It must be *no Concord* but what Punishment can procure: And what punishment? Sharper than is yet tried; for that hath not done it: Such Concord as *Tertullian* nameth, *Solitudinem faciunt & pacem vocant*: The Concord in *Spain* is worse than the *Amsterdam* toleration.

Again I remember the great Fish-Pond mentioned by Judge *Hale*, that had multitudes of Fish and fric; and at last two small

small Pikes put in; when the Pond was drawn there was never a Fish but the two Tyrants (as he calls them) grown to a huge bigness. The fear least *Popery* and *Prelacy* should be the two Pikes, tempted men irregularly to covenant against them. To have such variety as Roch, Dace, Pierch, Tench, Carp, made it a Schismatical Pond; The two Pikes were against Schism and Toleration, and for ending the Division by reducing all to unity of Species.

§ 37. As to his Question of *Qu. Elizabeths* days, the Intimation may seduce the ignorant, but none else. 1. If he know not that it was the Subscription required in the Canons, (that *nothing in the Books is contrary to the Word of God*, scrupled, which broke the Peace and Concord of *England*, he is unfit by his Ignorance to be an Informer of others. I have known many that would have yielded to come into the Conforming Church, if *that one word* had been but forborn: For when any practice against their Consciences about baptizing, Communion, or Burials had faln in their way, they would have silently shifted it off, or been from home, and have ventured to answer it, so they could but conscionably have got in. But our Canoneers are for all or nothing.

2. He is sure no English Clergy-man, if he know not how much is laid on us, that was not known in the days of *Qu. Elizabeth*. Is it to inform men, or deceive them, that he makes the difference to be between 36 and 39 Articles, and saith nothing of all the new Covenants, Declarations, Oaths, Subscriptions, Doctrine and Practises?

§ 38. Many make use of *Mr. Edwards Gangrena*, and the *London Ministers Testimony against errors*, to prove the Heresies and Confusions of the late times. No doubt all sin is odious: But few men living are more competent Witnesses of those things than I. The Errours that sprung up were much more tenderly resented then than now. You now have many called Wits and Persons of Quality, who at a Club dispute against the Providence of God, the immortality of the Soul, and a future Life; and there is neither Church-Admonition, Excommunication, nor any great matter made of it, but they are Members of the Church of *England*, the purest Church in all the World: Whereas in those licentious times, if one Souldier had spoken such a Word, it would have rung out through the Land, and perhaps his Tongue would have

have been bored with an hot Iron. It was the errors of the proud rebellious Soldiers that made most of the noise, that had no considerable number of Ministers left with them. I had a hand in Mr. *Edwards* Book thus: An Assembly of Ministers after *Naseby* Fight sent me into the Army to try if I could reduce them. Dayly disputing with them, a few proud selfconceited Fellows vented some gross words. At *Amersham* a few Country Sectaries had set up a Meeting in Dr. *Crooks* Church, to dispute and deceive the People: A few of Major *Bethel's* Troop (that afterwards turned Levellers and were ruined) joined with them: I met them, and almost all day disputed against them, and shamed them, and they met there no more. I gathered up all the gross words which they uttered and wrote them in a Letter to *Francis Tyton*, and after I found them cited in Mr. *Edwards* *Gangrena*. And what's the absurd Speeches of a few ignorant Souldiers, that are dead with them, to the Heresies and Schisms that these 1000 or 1200 Years continue in all the Roman Communion, and they say in all the rest of the Christian World. One cheating Papist as a converted Jew got into an Anabaptists Meeting, one *Maxwell* a Scot, and all *England* rung of it. But when Bishops have made and keep *France, Spain, Italy, &c.* in the same Errors, Dr. *Heylin*, and Bp. *Bromhall*, and such others, took them for such, with whom a Coalition on the terms by them described was very desirable.

CHAP. XXIV.

His 7th Chapter considered.

§ 1. **T**HE Man had not the courage to defend the surgent Prelacy in its Manhood and Maturity, but only in its Infant and Juvenile State; nor to defend the many hundred Councils which I mentioned after the Council of *Calcedon*, in which either his Modesty or Cautelousness comes short of his Rd. Fathers, who some of them own the six first General Councils, and some of them eight, and some would unite with the Church of *Rome*, if they will abate but the last 400 Years additions.

§ 2. In

§ 2. In his Gleanings in this 7th Chap. he over, and over, and over persuadeth his Reader, that I make or affirm that [*the Bps. were the cause of all the Heresies in the world, and of all the Heresies, Schisms, and Evils that have afflicted the Church.* And hath this Historian any proof of this? Or is it the melancholy fiction of his Brain? Yes, this is his proof contrary to my manifold Instances, because I say in one age, [*We have a strange thing, a Heresie raised by one that was no Bishop: which I have answered before. To be then strange, and never to be at all; are not words of the same sense?* But his Answers throughout do mind me of Seneca's Words, that a man that is sore complains (or cries Oh) when he doth but think you touch him.

§ 3. He thus himself accuseth the Bishops, p. 276. [*There have been wicked men and wicked Bishops in all times.*] And p. 277. [*That some Bishops have abused their Authority and Office, and been the cause of Heresie and Schism cannot be denied.*] But yet [*He hath shewed sufficiently, that most of my particular Accusations are void of all truth and Ingenuity.*] Ans. Or else those words are so.

§ 4. He saith *All Ecclesiastical Writers agree, that Simon Magus was Author of the first Heresie in Christian Religion.*] Ans. All confess that Judas was before him: And if it be a Heresie to buy the Spirit for Money, it is a Heresie to sell Christ for Money. But I confess some tell us of his after pranks at Rome, and imitating Icarus, at Peters Prayers: If you would see why Dr. More takes this for a toyish Legend, see his *Mystery of Iniquity*, Lib. 2. C. 19. § 6, 7. p. 447, 448.

§ 5. P. 286, 287. Baronius first, and Philastrius after, are made guilty of Forgery and disregardable History, so that I may well bear some of his Censures.

§ 6. P. 290. To confute me effectually he saith much what the same which is much of the sum of all my Book: And yet it's false and malicious in me, and true and charitable in him: viz. [*Praising the first 300 years, (when the Bishops were such as we offer to submit to:) he adds [The following Ages were not so happy; but as Christians generally degenerated so did the Bishops too.]*

Ans. What! Before the Council of Nice! That's a sad Confession. I was ready to say as a Roman Emperour said to a flatterer, that still said all that he said, [*Dic aliud aliquid ut duo si-*
mus,] 16

mus,] But his next words allay it, [*But yet not so much as our Author would make it appear.*] As the Dominicans and Oratorians must say some falshood of *Calvine*, lest they be thought Calvinists.

And yet he addeth, [*The beginning of the 4th Century was very unhappy to the Church, for Persecution without, and Heresie and Schism within. Meletius an Egyytian began a Schism, forsook the Communion of the Church, &c. Next the Donatists, Arians, &c.*]

Ans. It seems that the Emperours *Constantius* and *Valens* were without the Church, and yet the *Arian Priests* and *Bishops* were within it. When he defineth the Church we may understand this. But is it not this 4th Century that is made the Churches more flourishing state by others?

§ 7. Even the great Historian of Heresies, *Epiphanius*, is said p. 292. to be [*unaccountably mistaken in several things relating to that History.*] And 293. hath [*a strange unaccountable mistake in diverse other things relating to that matter.*] If I had at any time erred with such a Bishop and Father, I might have been excusable for reciting his History.

§ 8. Pag. 295. He opens the very Heart of his Parties Principles, and saith, [*The Church is never distracted more by any thing than Projects of Moderation.*]

Ans. Experience proveth that you speak your Heart. The words are no wilful Lye which agree with a mans Mind, be they never so false as disagreeable to the matter. No man was more of that Opinion than *Hildebrand*, that would not yield the Emperours the Investiture, nor as I before said, abate the Prince of *Calanis* the shaving of his Bishops Beard to save his Kingdom. *Victor* began with that Opinion too soon, but his Successors have these Thousand Years been as much for it as you can wish.

2. But to whom is it that you intend this? Sure not to all: Was Bishop *Land* of that mind toward the Papists if Dr. *Heylin* say true? Was *Grotius* of that mind toward them? Was Arch-Bishop *Bromhall*, *Forbes*, *Beziar*, *Thorndike* (and many more such) of that mind? No: I'll excuse you, that you meant not them and their *Projects of Moderation*: Nor I believe neither *Cassander's*, *Erasmus's*, *Wicelius's*, *Sancta Clara's*, *Leander's*, &c.

But towards such as I am, you have been as firm to that Principle as any one of our Enemies could wish. In 1660, 1661. it was

was most effectually improved; and you have attained much of the fruits then foretold: and ever since have been unmoveably and prevailingly true to it.

3. But this maketh some men the *Distracters of the Church*, if not the *greatest*, which truly I have better thoughts of: Such as *Junius*, *Paræus*, *Amyraldus*, *Le Blanke*, *Davenant*, *Ward*, *Usher*, *Holdsworth*, *Morton*, *Hall*, &c. And lately when we were preparing for the Kings Return, Bp. *Brownrig*, and after his death Dr. *Gawden*, Dr. *Gulston*, Dr. *Allen*, Dr. *Bernard*, and diverse such did offer themselves to a Treaty for Moderation: And since then Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Burton*, Dr. *Tillotson*, and in *diebus illis* Dr. *Stillingfleet* have been guilty of this crime, of *distracting the Church by projects* of Moderation: But I can name the Bps. that were not guilty of it.

To abate or forsake the necessary points of Faith and Practice on pretence of Moderation, is to destroy Christianity on pretence of Humanity or Peace. But to make Laws that men shall preach with Horns on their Heads, to signifie the Victory of Truth, and to ruine all that will not keep these Laws (much more if men should command worse) and to say a Project for Moderation would distract the Church, would be as far from Wisdom as it is from Moderation: And some Prelates have done as bad as this.

§ 9. He confesseth p. 296. that by force and Fraud [*the whole World in a manner was turned Arian.*] And did I ever say worse of the Bishops than this?

§ 10. He maketh *Aerius* to speak against Bishops because he could not be a Bishop, so that he was of a Prelatical Judgment and Spirit, and calleth him [*The Cartwright of the times,*] by which if he mean that Cartwright would have been a Bishop, it doth but tell us that he deserveth little belief in his History.

§ 11. He is a most singular Historian, p. 303. in telling us, that after the Monothelites in following Ages of the Church the Devil started up but few Heresies till these Ages,--- *Swenkfeldians*, *Anabaptists*, &c.

By this I perceive he believeth neither Papists nor Protestants: For the Papists name many Heresies since, and the Protestants say that Popery is but a Composition of many Heresies, and name us many that concur'd thereto.

§ 12. He there giveth me this serious Admonition, [*It is a much greater wonder that any man that makes Conscience of what he saith, should against all truth of History, and against his own knowledge, charge the Bishops with all the Heresies in the World: that a person that seems so sensible of approaching Judgment, as frequently to put himself in mind of it---should yet advance so malicious and groundless an Accusation. There is no dallying with the all-seeing God---What Plea shall be made for whole Books full of Calumny and Detraction, &c.*]

Ans. This is not the least acceptable passage to me in his Book; I love the man the better for seeming serious in the belief of Judgment; and I hope his Warning shall make me search my Heart with some more jealousy and care. He seems here to believe himself; but being my self far more concerned than he is to know how far I am guilty of what I am accused, as far as I can know my Heart and Writings, I'll tell the Reader what to judge of his words and me.

1. That I *charge the Bishops with all the Heresies in the World*, never was in my mind, nor can I find it in any of my Writings: Yet this he very oft repeateth: And should a man so often write a falshood about a thing visible, and never cite the place where I say it, and this while he is thus seriously mentioning *Calumny and Judgment*.

2. Can he make men believe at once that I do persuade men that Bishops or Diocesanes came not up till about 150 years after Christ, and yet that I make them the Authors of the Heresies that were in those times? *Non entis non est actio*: Could Bishops be Hereticks when there were no Bishops?

3. If I had *charged the Bishops with all the Heresies*, it followeth not that I had charged no one else with them, and made the Bishops the sole Authors, and acquit People, Priests, and Princes; why then doth he name many Monks and Priests that were Hereticks? Or Emperours that promoted them, as if this crossed what I say? Did he think that I excluded the Army if I blame the General, or the Prelatical Priests when I blame the Prelates? If I took the Bishops of *England* to be the chief cause of our Church-Schisms, and Calamities, doth it follow that I acquit such as you, and all the Clergy like you?

4. That I have done this [*against all Truth of History*] which I transcribed out of the Councils and Historians most partial for
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the highest Prelacie, is either a great untruth, and unproved by him, or I know not what I read or write.

5. That I do this against my own Knowledge I am certain is an untruth.

6. That my Accusations are *malicious* I am certain is untruth, as being able to say that I speak in pitty to the Church, and to save Souls from deceit, and malice no man; but pray with the Liturgy, that God will *forgive our Enemies, Persecutors, and Slanderers, and turn their Hearts.*

7. That I have brought any *Groundless Accusation* I must take for an untruth, till my Grounds produced are better confuted.

8. Much more that I write *whole Books full of Calumny and Detraction.*

All these and more untruths being heapt up with the mention of Death and Judgment, tells us whither Faction and Prepossession may carry men.

2. But what is the truth I shall again briefly tell the Reader:

1. About 2000 of such Ministers as I confidently take for the most spiritual, and conscionable and devoted to God and the good of Souls are silenced, and in Law imprisoned and ruined; and all the People of their mind are *ipso facto* (if they confess it) excommunicated, besides their other penalties. I accuse not the Law but mention only the matter of Fact, which the K. once commissioned Bps. to have prevented.

2. The Kingdom is dolefully divided, and alas, the sad consequences are not to be named.

3. Besides all our Penalties the Bishops accuse us as the causes of all, and as wilful Schismatics, and call for the Execution of the Laws against us.

4. We say, we dare not do that, which when ever they will give us leave, we are ready to give our reasons why we take it for heinous sin against God, and tending to the ruine of the Church: nor dare we forsake our Ministry while the Churches necessities are to us past doubt.

5. We beg of them but to abate us some needless Oaths, and Covenants, and Professions, and a few things called *indifferent* by the Imposers, that we may all live in Christian Love and Peace, and we offer them as unquestionable security for our Peaceableness, Loyalty, and Orthodoxness, as the said Oaths, Promises, or Professions can be.

6. They tell us, *Nothing is to be abated us, and we must cease preaching, the Rule must not be altered; we will do more harm in the Church than out; Projects for Moderation most distract the Church; There is no Concord or Liberty to be expected, but by our total obedience to the Bishops; It is obeying the Church, yea the Universal Church of Bishops, that is the only way to Concord.*

7. To confute this Supposition, which is the root of our Calamities, I transcribe out of History and the Acts of Councils, how great a hand in the Schisms, and Heresies, and Confusions of Christians, those Bishops have had, who have swelled up above the primitive species, by vast Diocesses, Wealth, and claim of Government over other Churches and Bishops; and that it is notorious that this Grandeur and exorbitant power of Bishops, singly or in Councils, hath been so far from keeping the Church from Schisms, that it hath been one of the greatest causes of the Schisms of most Ages, since such a sort of Prelacy sprung up, and that Popery came not up in a day, but rose from that Juniority to its present Maturity. This was my work.

§ 13. He truly tells you, that the *Original of all mischiefs is the Lusts that war in our Members, and not this or that Order of Men.*]

When the World had a good Pope, if God would bless that Order of men, some think he might do more good than any other man. But he hath toucht the Core of the Churches Malady. Verily, the grand Strife is between the *Flesh* and *Spirit*, the seed of the Serpent and of the Woman: And if Patriarchs and Diocesans were but as much set on the promoting of a holy and heavenly Life, as those Ministers are whom they silence and imprison, they might do much good, though the largeness of their Dioceses render them incapable of performing the 40th part of a true Bishops Work. No doubt but Bishop *Hall*, and *Potter*, and *Usher*, &c. did much good, by such preaching, writing, and good living, as others use that are no Bishops.

But will fire burn without fewel? And will it not burn if combustible fewel be contiguous? Do not the *Lusts that war in our Members* live upon that food which we are forbidden to provide? Do you think that the *Lust* of the *Flesh* doth not more desire Riches than Poverty, Honour than a low Estate, Domination over others, to have our Will on all, than humble Subjection? Where the Carcass is there will the Eagles be gathered

ed. Do not you your self say, that the Bishops and Church grew more corrupt after the third Century? Do you believe that when a Bishops Power was made equal to a great Lords, or more, and all his Pomp and Riches answerable, that the Lust of the Flesh would not more greedily desire it, than it would desire a meer mediocrity? Or that a worldly proud man would not seek more for Lordship and Greatness, than a *Synesius*, and such others as you say fled from it? If the poor retired Monks were as bad as you make them, what wonder if great Lordly Bishops were much worse? Will not the fire of Lust grow greater as the fuel is greater?

I am satisfied that Riches and Power well used, may greatly serve the Interest of Religion: But two things must be considered.

1. That the *greatest Power and Wealth* being far more desired by carnal Worldlings, (that is, by bad men) than by mortified heavenly minded men, the more men desire them, the more eagerly they will seek them by Friends, Flattery, or any means: and therefore the liker they are to attain them, except when the choosers are some resolved godly men. And so which way can a Succession of the worst men be avoided? But a mediocrity that doth not to the Flesh overweigh the labours and difficulties of the sacred Office, will encourage the good, and not much tempt the bad: Or if good men will be never so bountiful to pious uses, their bounty and Church-Lands may better maintain Labourers enough for the work, than be made a share to one.

2. And that Power which depopulateth and destroys its end, is unlawful in its very state, as well as in its use. The Power of one man to be sole Physician to the City, and to have none but Apothecaries under him; or of one man to be the only School-Master in the County, and have none but Ushers under him, is rather to be called *Destruction* than *Power*. It is Bishops casting out Power that I am against, that is, the necessary Power of the Keys in the Parish Ministers, or putting down necessary Bishops; and also a Power to silence Christs faithful Ministers, and deprive Souls of the necessary means, by imposing things needless in themselves, and sinful in the receiver, that after his best search believes them such.

Seeing then that we are agreed, that it is the *Lust that war-*
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reth in men, that is the corrupter of the Church, let but the face of the whole Romane Clergy these 1000 Years at least tell us, whether it be not the swelling of the Power and Wealth of Bishops, that hath caused so long a Succession of a worldly, lustful, tyrannical Clergy.

§ 14. And he truly saith, [p. 306. that the *generality of men when they have gained Wealth and Honour*, are commonly willing to secure the enjoyment of those Possessions, by letting things run in their ordinary course.

(The Spanish Proverb is, *The World is a Carryon, and they are Dogs that love it*, and they will snarle at any that would take it from them, and if it lie in the Ditch, Dogs rather than Men will gather about it: and its pittie such men should by such a Bait be tempted into the sacred Chair.) And he truly adds, that *Repulse and Disappointment will end such mens Patience*. For really as the man is, such are his desires: It is not only turgent Prelacy but a Prelatical Spirit that troublers the Church: And If *Novatianus* or *Arius* would fain be a Prelate, it is in his heart; and no wonder if he be a Schismatick; *Trahit sua quemque voluptas*. Appetite is the Spring of Action. All the Popes Clergy are much of his mind; for they participate of his worldly Interest, and depend on him, and therefore participate of the Papal Spirit. The Interest of the General and Army are conjunct.

§ 15. And its true that he saith, that *the Bishops Interest obligeth him to maintain Peace and Unity*. And so no doubt from that sense of Interest it is endeavoured, in *Italy, Spain, France, Germany, &c.* when a strong man armed keeps his house, the things which he possesseth are in Peace. But whether therefore the People did ill that forsook the Bishops and followed *Luther*, or are all bound to cleave to the Bishops Unity, is the doubt.

§ 16. Whether it be true, p. 310 that *very few if any one were Bishops when they turned Hereticks*, I have enquired in the Preface; though if they ascended from Heresie to Prelacy it's all one to me. But by this I conjecture that he taketh fewer for Hereticks than others do, and that he pretends acquaintance with their minds, in that antecedent part of their Lives which no History mentioneth. I confess I think that for the most part men are Papists before they are Popes or Papist Bishops: And yet I think that it is first the desire of *Papal and Prelatical Grandeur*

deur, and next the *Exercise of it*, which is the cause of Schism and Persecution.

§ 17. I verily believe as he doth, that Platonick Philosophy, and a willingness to win the Heathens by compliance, had a great hand in corrupting many Doctrines; and not only Monks but others of the most religious Christians, had a great hand in many of the ancient Superstitions, especially those that tended to the over-honouring of their Martyrs, and too much advancement of their Bishops, when they came newly from under the Persecution of the Heathens. But it came not to be universal, nor the Engine of great Corruption and cruelty, till the Bishops turned all into a Law. Who could make any of all this necessary, but Pope, Prelates, or Princes, who pretended a Legislative Power hereto? Even *Luther* and *Melancthon* were indifferent to diverse Ceremonies, so they were made to be indifferently used. But when they are made necessary by a Law (specially more necessary to a Minister than his Ministry, and to a private Christian, than his Church Communion, who doth more vehemently condemn them than they?

§ 18. That *Paschasius Radbertus* was the first that broached the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, is a doubtful expression. Either he meaneth the *Name* or only the *Thing* under another Name. If the latter, he will do more than *Edm. Albertinus*, or *Bp. Consius* have done, if he prove it: If it be the name that he meaneth, I think (by my Memory, for I will not for that go read him all over) that he will not find the name in *Radbertus*, nor any where before *Stephanus Eduensis*, about 130 years after him: and that all that he can truly say, is but as *Bellarmino* doth, [*Hic Author primus fuit qui seridè & copiosè scripsit de veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia contra Bertramum Presbyterum.*]

§ 19. That the Bishops charged by me with these Corruptions, were the only Opposers of them that we find in antiquity, as we may see in the Canons of Africk and Spain,] is a saying very near kin to much of his History: I confess that so few Presbyters in comparison of Bishops were publick Actors, whose Judgments were notified to the World, that it's no wonder (after *Constantine's* time) if there be more proofs of their words and deeds than of other mens: But there are a great number of excellent men here slandered against the credit of all Church-History, and their

their own Writings yet in our hands. Would it be worth the Readers Price and Labour, I could swell my Book with the proof that what he speaketh is untrue. Did he think that I could not prove that *Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatianus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origene, Arnobius, Lactantius, Macarius, Maternus Firmicus, Ephrem Syrus, Faustinus, Hierome, Ruffinus, Prudentius, Sulpitius Severus, Sedulius, Mammertus, Cassianus, Vincent. Lirinensis, Socrates, Sozomen, Isodore Pelusiota, &c.* did something in opposition to some Church-Corruptions? Though some of them promoted some others: Yea, *Antonie* and abundance of Monks that furthered some, opposed others no less dangerous: Though many of them may be accused as *Bellarmino* doth *Sulpit. Severus*, for saying, *Ecclesiam auro non struisset destrui.*

Judge of time past by what we see; Is it *only* the Bishops that are against the Popes Church-Corrupting Usurpation in *Italy, Spain, France, &c.* Is it *only* the Bishops that are against the Mass Corruptions, and against all their corrupt Doctrines of Indulgences, Purgatory, Images, &c. and against all their Ceremonies, and prophane abuse of holy things? Was it only the Bishops at *Constance* and *Basil*, that were against suppressing the Bohemian and Moravian Reformation? In the end of *Lydius* upon *Prateolus* you may read a Letter subscribed by so great a number of Lords and great men, for *John Hus*, and *Hierome*, and the Reformation, which yet prevailed not with the Bishops, as will tell you who was then the greatest Opposers of Church-Corruption. And I think Princes and Drs. opposed it more than Bps. in *Luther's* time. Is it only the Bishops that have opposed warping towards *Rome* for Church-Unity? Have none but Bishops been against corrupting the Churches, by silencing good Ministers and ordaining bad ones? The things that are, have been. I confess our difference is great on the case, *what is to be accounted Church-Corruption.* For that which in one Country goeth for Corruption, in another (yea the same) goeth for Church-Glory, Strength, and Beauty; Our main difference is about what's good, and what's bad; what's Virtue, and what's Vice.

§ 20. He next comes to *Sedition*, and asketh [*What Reign have they disturbed here with their Sedition?*] And because he knoweth that I can refer him to the large *Volumes* of their Treasons written by *Prin*, and abroad to the many *Volumes* in *Gol-*
austus,

dastus, and the many Histories of the Wars of Popes and Councils against Emperours,] he prevents all my Proof with a downright Untruth, that [“*If a man be not blind he may see that my History is only designed against Protestant Bishops under a general name.*”

Ans. Was it not enough so grossly to write this Untruth of me, but he must also reproach all the Readers as blind that will not judge falsely of what they read? Doth he know my meaning better than my self? He knoweth that I plead for the Primitive Episcopacy, and that I profess to intend this History most to discover the Rise, Growth, and Maturity of the Popish destructive sort of Prelacy. Readers, can you believe this man, that I wrote the case of the Bishops before and under Popery, and of the Popes, and of above Five hundred Councils, and all these before the name of a Protestant Bishop was known in the World, and as he saith, gathered their faults, and all this only against the Protestant Bishops, and not against Popes or Prelates, or any of the Councils that I named?

Perhaps he would tempt me to refer him to the History of Bishop *Land's* Trial, or to what Bishop *Abbot*, *George* and *Robert*, Bishop *Hall* and others said against him: Or to tell him of *A. Bp. Williams* Arms for the Parliament. But these are not Subjects fit for our Debates.

§ 21. P. 318. When I say, that *where Prelacy with the Papists is at the highest, Princes are at the lowest.* He asketh, *Is it the Bishop or the Papist that is here to blame? Is this the effect of their Order?*

Ans. 1. I thought the Pope of *Rome* and the Bishop of *Rome* had been the same. 2. But this Corrector of History taking Untruths not only into the Completion, but the *Stamina* and *Scope* of his Book, among all the rest supposeth me to speak against a Bishop as a Bishop, when I have troubled him with my repeating so often that I *am* for Bishops, and that it is not the Office but the tumor, and that tumor that maketh another species which I oppose. Doth he not think that the Popes Bishoprick is faulty (yea, as a corrupt species?) And as it is more tumid than the Patriarchs, is not the Patriarchs more tumid than the Metropolitans, and that than the Diocesans? And if Dr. *Hammond* were not deceived, who thought that there were no stated worshipping Assemblies in Scripture times without a present Bishop,

D d

Bishop, is not the *sole Bishop* of a Thousand or a Hundred such Assemblies different from a Bishop of *One only*? And if many Canons speak truly, that say a Bishop should be in *every City* that hath a *Church*, and every great Town like our Corporations and Market Towns was called a *City*, doth not a Bishop of one *City*, and a Bishop of 50, or 40, or 10, differ so far, that a man may be against one without being against the other? Doth he speak against Patriarchs that speaks against the Pope? Or against Diocesanes that speaks against Patriarchs? Or against the Primitive Bishops that speaks only against such Diocesanes as put them all down, and all their Churches, and almost all true Discipline of such Churches, like *Erastians*.

§ 22. *P. 319. 322.* His Charge on *Socrates* and *Sozomene* (shaking the credit of Church History) as writing that [*which no reasonable man can believe as it is related by them, without loving a malicious Lye.*] I spake to before: If such Historians believed not what they write or loved a *malicious Lye*; alas, whom shall we believe? Is he better than they?

And his note that *Valesius* judged *Eusebius Nicomed* no *Heretic*, I before noted.

But I will follow that case no further, lest he should draw me to seem to charge the ancient Bishops with sedition, whom I never intended so to charge; but only to desire those that can excuse the Language *e. g.* of *Gregory* the great to *Phocas*, of *Ambrose* to *Eugenius*, of the Bishops to *Maximus*, and many such like, not implacably to reproach and hunt those that did no more or not so much.

§ 23. His full Stomach dischargeth itself against me three times over with one charge, *P. 314, 320, 352.* [*Oliver Cromwell and his Son, the David and Absalom of Mr. B.*] And [*He compares the most barbarous villain in the World to King David, in his Epistle to his Son.*]

Ans. Reader if there be no such word in any of my Writings, after all these Accusations of this man and many such other, I must leave it to thy self how thou wilt name these men, their History, and their dealings; for if I name them they will say I rail.

Yea, what if this very man (it's easie to know why and whence) doth even here, *p. 352. &c.* reprint the very Epistle which he thus accuseth, and cite no such word, to tell us that he

he knew there was no such word there, and yet thus affirmeth it, what will you call this?

The words cited by himself are these, ["*Many observe that you have been strangely kept from participating in any of our late bloody Contentions, that God might make you a Healer of our Breaches, and employ you in that Temple Work, which David himself might not be honoured with, though it was in his mind, because he had shed blood abundantly, and made great Wars.* 1 Chr. 22. 7, 8.]

Is here ever a word of *Oliver*? Is he here called *David*? Did I not purposely say, [*David himself*] and cite the Text, lest any should feign the same that he doth? Any man may see that he hath nothing to say, but to accuse my Thoughts, and suspect that I had such a meaning. And who made him acquainted with Thoughts that were never uttered? Or made him a Judge of them? If his and other mens thoughts may be thus by conjecture accused, no Enemy need to want matter of Accusation.

It's like he will appeal to my Conscience whether it were not my thought? And 1. By what authority will he so do? 2. But I will shrive my self to him this once. It is so long since, that truly I remember not what was in my Thoughts, any further than my words express: But I well remember my former Actions, and what was then my judgment of *Oliver* and his Actions, and I use not to speak against my judgment. Many knew that he being acquainted the first day that I went into the Army, (which was after *Naseby* Fight) that I was sent by an Assembly of Divines, to try whether I could turn the Soldiers against his subverting Designs, (then first discovered to me,) he would never once speak to me while I was in the Army; and that ever after I was driven away, I openly in Pulpit, Press and Conference disowned, and warned men to disown his Actions against King and Parliament, and his Usurpation; and that I wrote against the Engagement: And therefore I do not think that ever I meant to call him *David*, and I am sure I never did it. But they say old Men can see better afar off than near at hand; and so all these notorious Untruths about visible present things, may yet consist with such mens credibility about things said and done 1300 Years ago.

§ 24. And now I am here, I must not pass by his friendly Admonition, p. 357. after his reciting my Epistles, ["*If I were as*

Had I said
what is this
Week pub-
lished, as one
of their chief
Dr's Elegy
upon *Oliver*
Cromwell,
(with two o-
thers) what
should I have
heard? What
abundance of
Conformists
flattered *O-*
liver, while
I openly dis-
owned him
as a Usurper;
but now their
malice hath
got the han-
dle.

“worthy to advise Mr. B. as he was to advise Cromwell, I would
 “say, It were much more adviseable for a Christian, specially for
 “one that thinks he is so near his eternal State, to repent and cry
 “peccavimus, than to stand on justification of the fact, &c.]

Ans. 1. It was usual for men to choose their own Confessours:
 But it being the Custom of the times for Pastors and Confessors
 to be forced on Dissenters, I will submit now to your way,
 though my former Confessions and my Communion with you
 have been turned to Reproach and Scorn.

1. I do daily beg earnestly of God, to let none of my sins be
 unknown to me, and taken for no sin, and be unrepented of;
 and that he would forgive that which I would fain know, and
 do not.

2. I do not repent of owning *Oliver's* Actions against King
 and Parliament, or his Usurpation; for I never owned them,
 nor the Actions of them that set up his Son.

3. I do not repent that I loved the Peace of the Church, and
 that I desired the Governour, though a Usurper, should do good
 and not evil.

4. I do not repent that seeing the Armies Rebellions and Con-
 fusions, I stirred up Rulers and People to take heed of favouring
 so great Sin.

5. But I do now by experience of other ways perceive that I
 was sometimes too eager in aggravating mens Errours, and re-
 pent that I used not more forbearance of some of my Accusati-
 ons of some of them.

6. I did think that *Richard Cromwell* was an Usurper: But
 when we had been twelve Years at least without a rightful Go-
 vernour, I then thought as *Thomas White*, alias *Blacklow*, the
 moderate Papist, wrote, that the Land could not subsist in Soci-
 ety without some Government, and that *No-Government* is worse
 to the People than a *Usurped one*: And that it is sometime lawful
 to submit and use an Usurper, when it is not lawful to approve
 his Entrance. And wherein I was deceived I am willing to be
 better informed.

7. But I do unfeignedly repent that I wrote those two Epistles,
 though it was to put a man on to do good, whom I never saw,
 nor ever had the least to do with.

8. And I do more repent of the cause of all, viz. that I ap-
 pointed God a time, and limited his Providence; and thought
 that

that because so many Armies and Endeavours had failed Twelve or Fourteen Years, that had attempted the restoring of the King, therefore there was no probability of accomplishing it: I do not repent that I was not a Prophet, to know before what God would do; for it was not in my power; nor do I repent that I preached Christs Gospel under Usurpers; but I repent that I waited not Gods time, and did not better consider that want of humane Power is no hinderance to Omnipotency, and nothing is difficult to him.

9. I was drawn too far by Mr. *Harringtons* Scorn, and the dislike of Sir *Henry Vane's* Attempts for a Common-Wealth, to meddle with matters of Government, and to write my Political Aphorisms, called, *A Holy Common-Wealth*: And I do unfeignedly repent that ever I wrote and published it, and had not more confined my self to the matters proper to my Calling, and let those meddle with forms of Government who were fitter for it.

All these, besides what's formerly said to Mr. *Bagshaw*, I declare my unfeigned Repentance of. And though it pleaseth you to feign me a Schismatick, and hater of Repentance, (for speaking against the fault that needed it) I shall thank you to be a real helper of me in so necessary a work as Repentance is.

And that I may do the like by you, I shall now only requite you with this Advice, that before you write next, you will set before your Eyes the Ninth Commandment, *Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy Neighbour*: And that when you say your Prayers, you would be serious when you say, *Lord have Mercy upon us, and encline our hearts to keep this Law*.

§ 25. A Roman Zeal tells us, that Faction and Schism, when animated by worldly Interest, and grown up to a malignant hatred of the things and persons that are averse to it, is hardly bounded, but is thriving up towards destructive Persecution, as swelling Prelacy did towards the Papacy and the Inquisition. It is not one or two Fishes that will satisfy the stomach of a Pike: Nor is it the slandering or ruining of one or two men, or silencing of one or two of the Ministers of Christ, that will satisfy a malignant Spirit. One Meal will not make a lean Man fat. Whether there be a Legion in those that would destroy a Legion of Christs Servants, or one have so much Power I know not; but the effects tell us *what manner of Spirit they are of*. But let the Papists pass.

§ 26. When I read p. 337, and 358, 359. and such passages, it makes me think of them that cried, [*His Blood be on us, and our Children,*] together with our Judge's words, [*In as much as you did it or did it not to one of the least of these my Brethren, you did it or did it not to me.*] P. 337. he saith, [*"There is great reason to value the peaceable Resignation of the Nonconformists, when we consider by what Usurpation and Violence they were brought in, and what a number of worthy learned Ministers were turned out to make vacancies for these men, who were to instruct the People in new Mysteries of Religion, which their old Pastors had not the Conscience or Ability to teach them, that is, of the lawfulness of Rebellion.*--- And p. 358, &c. *There were many of those Ministers Usurpers, and had intruded into the Churches of other men, who had been silenced and cast out.*--- *There were many others that were intruders into the Ministry, and such not a few of them as Mr. B. himself would not have thought fit to have continued. All the rest were such as would not submit to the Rule that was then established in the Church, but chose rather to leave their Livings, and the Bishops could not help it, any otherwise than as they were Members of Parliament; for it was the Law that tied them to their choice, and not the Bishops. If Mr. B. means what happened before the last Civil Wars, as it's likely he may, then these ancient Teachers were the instruments of an Antimonarchical, Antiepiscopal Faction: They would preach but they would not conform to the Established Religion: Nay many of them would preach against it, and against their Governours too. These were such Incendiaries as no Government would endure, &c.]*

Ans. When you have noted this part of his History, it will not be hard to judge of his credibility.

I. The things that he defendeth is the silencing and prosecuting of three sorts of Ministers. 1. Many Hundreds of Nonconformists in the days of Qu. *Eliz.* K. *James*, and some few in the time of K. *Charles* 1. 2. Many Conformists in the time of K. *Charles* 1. under Bishop *Land*. 3. About 2000 that conform not to the New Laws of Uniformity in the time of K. *Ch.* 2. What these Ministers were or are, and what the fruits of their silencing have been, and what it hath done to the Church of *England*, and to many Thousands of Godly Christians, I will not be judge: Nor will I dispute that which all *England* sees or feels. But it seems so well done to our Historian, as that he is willing

willing deliberately to justifie or defend it, which as I understand is to make it his own, and to undertake to be one of those that shall answer for it. What if another had done as much against him, as he hath done against himself? And for how small a prize?

I I. As he before would insinuate, that what is said of the great number of Drunkards, and ignorant men turned out, was false, though so judged upon the Oaths of men accounted the greatest lovers of Religion in their Parishes; so he seemeth here to intimate that it was only or chiefly into the places of learned worthy men, that the silenced Ministers succeeded; whereas it was not one of many that came into any such mens places of them that were silenced at the fatal *Bartholomew* day.

I I I. He seemeth to intimate, that when the Parliament (suppose by wrong) put out either such as he or I describe, the Land must be under an Interdict till the Bishops and King were restored, and that Christs Gospel was no more to be preached in *England*, till Diocesanes returned, but all Souls be given up to Damnation, unless Christ would save them without the preaching of his Gospel, and the Land was to be left to the Devil and Paganism. And who can deny now but the *Diocesane Species* is essential to the Church?

I V. When I spake only of the silencing and ejecting Act, of *Aug. 24. 1662.* he would make the Reader believe, that this Change was to restore the Churches to their ejected Pastors, or cast out Usurpers; whereas unless Ignorance or worse hinder him, he knoweth that all that were cast out and were alive, laid claim to their Benefices, and were restored before that, and their Livings resigned quietly to them, to say nothing of the rest that were supposed to be at the Lord Chancellors disposal. Those that were put out that the sequestred might re-enter, were none of them silenced, nor made incapable of other Livings till *August 24. 1662.*

V. He would insinuate that it was only the *Nonconformists* that were cast out of such sequestrations: Whereas in the Countries that I either lived in or heard of, it was as many or more of the Conformists, that had sequestred Livings and were cast out, and took new presentations.

V I. And this is evident by his Intimation, as if it were a ver-
ry great number of the Church Livings that were so posselt:
Whereas

Whereas of Nine Thousand or Ten Thousand Ministers then in Possession, Seven or Eight Thousand Conformed: Therefore it's likely that the Conformists had most of the Sequestrations.

V I I. He tells you that the Ejected Ministers were brought in to instruct the People in the Lawfulness of Rebellion: Doth not this intimate that this was the case only or chiefly of the silenced Nonconformists? But I have oft cited *Jewel* defending the French Protestants; Was not he a Bishop? I have oft cited *Bilson*, affirming it no Rebellion if the Nobles and People defend their Legal Constitution against one that will--- (I will not recite the rest.) --- I have oft cited *Ri. Hooker* whose popular Principles I have confuted, and goeth higher against absolute Monarchy, than I or any of my Correspondency did in all the Wars. *Heylin* is for Conciliation with the Papists: He knoweth not their Writings who knoweth not that the Papists are more for popular Election, and Power towards Princes, far than ever such as I were. And had he not put his Head and Eyes into a Bag, he could hardly have denied but that they were Episcopal Conformists on both sides that began the War: But being got into the dark he loudly denieth it.

V I I I. He saith, *There were many others that himself would not have thought fit to have continued.* Ans. I thought I was more likely to know them than he. I remember not one such of an hundred that did not conform. I confess that when the Prelatical party intreated me no longer to refuse the *Westminster Commissioners Letters*, deputing me with others to try and judge of some Episcopal Conformists that stood then for Livings, to avoid all seeming opposition to that way I did stretch as far as I durst, to approve and keep in some Conformists, of very low parts who knew not a quarter so much as some Lay People did: But none of these were Nonconformists.

I X. He saith, [*All the rest were such as would not submit to the Rule then established in the Church.* This is true: And what was that Rule? Did *Peter* or *Paul* make it, or submit to it? Did they refuse any thing that God commanded in Nature or Scripture? Or any Circumstantials necessary *in genere* left *in specie* to the Magistrates determination? They were guilty of believing that God is above man, and that there is no Power but of God, and none against him; and that we must please him
whoever

whoever be displeased. They were guilty of so much Self-love as to be unwilling to be damned for a Benefice, or for a Bishops Will. They did not consent to profess Assent and Consent to all things contained in and prescribed by three Books, written by such as declare themselves to be fallible; and such as not one of Fourty ever saw before they declared the said Assent and Consent to them. They did not consent to cast out all Infants from Christendom, whose Parents durst not offer them to Baptism, under the Sacramental Symbol of the Cross; nor unless they might have themselves been Covenanters, Undertakers, or Promisers for them, as well as the Godfathers: Or that scrupled getting Strangers to undertake that perfidiously for their Children which they never intended to perform. They durst not read Excommunications against Christs true Servants, nor repel those from Christian Communion, who scruple kneeling in the reception of the Sacrament: They durst not swear that many Thousands whom they never knew are not obliged by the Covenant, when they know not in what sence they took it: For they are not willing to believe that the compounding Lords and Knights did not put a good sence on it before they took it. They durst not say that all is so well in our Church Government by Diocefanes, Lay-Chancellours Power of the Keys, Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, &c. that we may swear against all endeavours to amend it by any alteration; They do believe that the Law of Nature is Gods Law, and that as it alloweth a single Person only private defence, so it alloweth every Nation publick defence against Enemies notorious destroying assaults: And they dare not swear or covenant, that if any should from the Lord Chancellor, &c. get a Commission to seize on the Kings Navy, Treasures, Forts, Guards, Person, and to seize on the Lives and Estates of all his Innocent Subjects, that it is unlawful to resist any that execute such a Commission. They find it so hard a Controversie, what God doth with the dying Infants of Atheists, Infidels, Mahometanes, and Persecutors, that they dare not declare, that if any of their Children be baptized and die, *it is certain by the word of God that they are undoubtedly saved.* We say not that the Law binds us to any of the evil which we fear: But we dare not take Oaths and Promises which we understand not.

Abundance I pretermitt.

He is extreemly censorious if he think that Mr. R. *Hooker*, Bp. *Bilson*, Bp. *Grindal*, A. Bp. *Abbot*, Bp. *Rob. Abbot*, Bp. *Jewel*, &c. would have been Conformists had they been now alive.

X. He saith, [*They chose rather to leave their Livings.*] *Ans.* They chose not to conform, but submitted only to leave their Livings; *Eligere est agere*. They were passive in this, they refused to conform as supposed by them a heinous Sin, but they chose not to be silenced or cast out; but they chose to endure it when the Bishops chose it for them.

X I. He saith, that [*the Bishops could not help it any other-wise than as they were Members of Parliament.*

Ans. 1. I confesse Scripture useth the like Phrase, *Can the Leopard change his Spots, &c.* or they that are accustomed to do evil learn to do well? And Rom. 8. 6, 7. *The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to his Law, nor can be.*] I will not heretoo much contradict him, 2. But is it nothing that they could have done in Parliament, had they been willing? 3. Is it unlawful for us to know if he know it not, or deny it, how much the Bishops and Clergy did with the Parliament-Men? 4. He should at least have stayed till Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacombe*, and I are dead, who wrote and disputed with the Bishops by the Kings Commission, before he had talkt at this rate to the World. Did not the King make his Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs? And did he not under the broad Seal commission those Bishops and Doctors to treat with us for the making such alterations as were necessary to tender Consciences? Did they not maintain that no alterations were thereto necessary, and so end the treaty. 5. Did they not in their next Convocation lay aside the Kings Indulgent Declaration, and make the Additions to the Liturgy? And yet could they not help it? Nor was it none of their doings? 6. Doth not *England* know that Parliaments since have by experience perceived their Mistake, and would have suspended our Prosecution, and restored us to Unity, and the Bishops and Clergy will not consent but rage against it, and preach and write to have us executed according to the Laws, and no abatement to be made, and as this man, think that the Churches Distraction is from Projects of Moderation. What name should one give to such Histories as these? The guilty cannot bear their names.

XII. He

XII. He saith, [*It was the Law that tied them to their choice and not the Bishops.*]

Ans. 1. Suppose the word *choice* were proper here, [Is it any justification of the Executioners?] It was the Emperour *Charles* the 5th's Edict that tied all the Protestant Ministers to conform to the *Interim*, or be gone: It was the Law that tied the Martyrs in *Qu. Maries* days to profess what they believed not, or to be burnt. Alas! How could *Bonner* and *Gardiner* help it? 2. But how many Bishops were against the passing of that Bill? And who persuaded the Lay-Men to it? Must we not know when it's night if you deny it?

XIII. He tells you, that [*the ancient silenced Teachers before the Civil Wars, were the Instruments of Antimonarchical and Antiepiscopal Faction.*]

Ans. 1. Which of them all said so much as *Mr. Hooker*, *Bp. Bilson*, *Bp. Jewel*, &c. have done? 2. If you make any Conscience of the 9th Commandment, prove the Truth of what you say of those that were suspended and driven out of the Kingdom in the times of *A. Bp. Laud*, *Bp. Wren*, *Bp. Piercy*, &c. for not reading the Book for Lords-days Dancing and Sports, and that were prosecuted for Preaching twice on the Lords-day, and for not turning the Table Altar-wise, and railing it in, which even *Bp. Montague* as well as *Williams* was against. Was *Bishop Miles Smyth* of *Gloucester*, were *A. Bp. Abbot* or *Grindall* *Antimonarchical* or *Antiepiscopal*? 3. Prove if you are able any *Antimonarchical* Principles, Words, or Deeds by *Mr. Hilderham*, *Mr. Brinsley*, *Mr. Paul Baine*, *Mr. Dod*, *Mr. Knewstubs*, and hundreds of such I might name. The most malicious are fain to talk of one *Knox*, or one *Goodman*, or one *Junius Brutus*, (that is, *Hubertus Languetus Melancthon's* friend) or somewhat in *Buchanan*, not the tenth part so much as is commonly said by the Papists, with whom our *A. Bp. Bromhall* and his Companions so much plead for Concord. 4. Doth not *Al. Cope*, and *Sanders*, and *Pateson* in the *Image of both Churches*, and lately the nominal *Bellamy* in his *Philanax Anglicus*, and many more such, say all the same of the Bishops and Church of *England*, and all that they deride as [*Protestants of Sincerity*] as guilty of far more rebellious Principles and Practices, than ever you can prove by the meer Nonconformists old or new? And is it enough to accuse?

XIV. He saith, *They would preach but they would not conform to the established Religion.*

Ans. 1. But why should they be forbidden to preach (which was good and they were devoted to?) If a man will not *do all* that you would have him to do, shall he *do nothing*?

2. What was that which he calleth the *Established Religion*? It was the Ceremonies and Subscription, *that there is nothing in the Liturgy contrary to the Word of God.* And was this a Crime worthy the forbidding men to preach the Gospel? Or why should the Souls of Thousands of the Innocent People be so heavily punished for another mans omission, even because the Teachers fear Conformity.

3. But still we see what these mens *Religion* is: Had their Religion been the Scripture, or any Doctrine or Worship common to the Christian or Protestant Churches, the old Nonconformists willingly consented to it. But here they shew that their Ceremonies and proper Liturgy forms are their Religion. But then 1. Why do Dr. *Burges* and all that plead for your Ceremonies and Invention, build all on this, that you make them not any parts of Worship or Religion, (which they confess man may not invent) but meer accidents? 2. How *old* then is your Religion? Your Liturgy was made since *Luther* began his Reformation. 3. It seems then that you are not of the same Religion with the Protestants that have none of your Ceremonies, Liturgy or Subscriptions. 4. Is not then your Church of a singular Religion from all the World, and consequently a singular Church? And is it the whole Catholick Church then, or a Schismatical Church?

I confess that you shew more evidently than by such words, that your self made Rules and Circumstances are your Religion: For 1. You make Conformity to them to be *de facto* more necessary than *our* Preaching the Gospel, or *our* Church Communion, or any publick Church Worship of God. 2. And you excommunicate by your Rule or Canon every Member of Christ in *England*, that doth but think and say, that any thing of your Imposition, Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Government are sinful. 3. And yet when you have done you call all your Impositions *things indifferent*. 4. And thereby you declare that your Religion in part is a thing *indifferent*. 5. And no Man or Woman shall be of your Church that cannot know *all the indifferent*.

different things in the *World* which may be imposed on them, to be *Indifferent* and not *Unlawful*; when you know (or you know not whom you dwell among) that we have much ado to get one half your Church to know *things necessary*. 6. The Papists that put a greater necessity on their Inventions will deride you for an *Indifferent Religion*.

There was a poor Puritane Nonconformist that feared Lying, that went about the Streets with Ink to sell, and was wont truly to cry, [*Very good Ink, very good Ink;*] but once his Ink a little miscarried, and he durst not call it [*Very good,*] but cried, [*Pretty good Ink, Pretty good Ink,*] and no body would buy of him, and he lost his Ink. And if you cry up [*An indifferent Religion,*] whatever you have for numbers, you will have for quality but an *Indifferent Church*, (save our Rulers.)

XV. But he adds, [*Many of them would preach against it and their Governours too.*]

Ans. 1. You tempt them towards it. If I ask the Butcher [*Is your Meat sweet?*] and he say it is *indifferent*, I am excusable if I think it stinks. 2. They judge by the effects: They thought that when an *indifferent* thing casteth out a necessary thing, it becomes naught. 3. But yet your Accusation is unfaithful: Why did you not say then, that it was not for *Non-conformity* that men were cast out, but for *preaching against your Religion*? Who were those? Was it proved? If so, what was that to the rest? Do you punish many learned moderate men for the fault of a few others that they were not concerned with? You now alledge Mr. *Hilderham*, *Ball*, *Bradshaw*, *Baine*, *Knewstubs*, and abundance such, for being against *Separation*, and persuading men to come to the Common Prayer, (and many of them to kneel at the Sacrament,) and yet when you plead for their Silencing, even other mens words may serve against them.

XVI. To conclude, in all he layeth the cause of their silence on themselves for not conforming, and yet will not tell us what we should do to help it. Would they have us Conform while we judge it as sinful as I have mentioned in my first *Plea for Peace*? No; they profess the contrary. Would they have us believe all to be lawful? We cannot: Our Judgments are not at our Command: What would they have us do to change? Worldly Interest makes us too willing! We study as hard as they!

We

We earnestly beg Gods Illumination to save us from Errour We read all that they write to convince us: And the more we read, study, and pray, the more heinous the Sin of Conformity seems to some. I askt Bp. *Morley* the same question when he forbade my preaching, before the ejecting Act; and he bid me read *Bilson* and *Hooker*: I told him that was not now to do: and in both of them I found the Principles which are made the cause of my Silencing, my greatest Crimes, and in one of them worse. He then told me, *If God would not give me his Grace he could not help it*: And yet most of these men are against *fatal, reprobating, necessitating Decrees*.

The imposing Papists use men worse: Of whom will you pardon a Fable.

A Bee and a Flie were catcht together in a Spiders Web: The Spider when they were tired with striving, claimed them both for her Food, as a punishment for breaking into and troubling her Web: And against the Bee she pleaded that she was a hurtful Militant Animal, that had a Sting; and against the Flie that she was noisome and good for nothing. The Bee answered that her mellifying Nature and work was profitable, and Nature had armed her with a Sting to defend it. And the Flie said, as she did little good so she did little harm, and could make her self no better than Nature had made her. And as to the Crime alledged against them, they both said, that the Net was made by a venomous Animal, spun out of the Air and the Venom of her own Bowels, made for no use but to catch and destroy the Innocent, and they came not into it by malice, but by ignorance and mistake, and that it was more against their Will than against the Spiders, for they contrived not to fall into it; but she contrived to catch them; and that it was not to break the Net that they strove, but to save their Lives. The Master of the House overheard the Debate, but resolved to see how the Spider would judge, which was quickly done without more words; she took them for Malefactors, and killed them both. The Master of the House so disliked the Judgment, that he ordered that for the time to come, 1. The Bees should be safely hived and cherished. 2. And the Flies, if not very noisome, should be tolerated. 3. And all Spiders Webs swept down.

I need to give you no more of the Exposition of it, than by the *Spider* I mean the Papal noxious Canon-makers, and that by the

the *Net* I mean their unnecessary and ensnaring Laws and Canons, which are made to catch and destroy good men, and are the way to the Inquisition, or *Bonner's* Coal-house, or *Smithfield* Bonfires. But I must desire you not to imagine that I speak against the Laws of the Land.

§ 27. As to the Conclusion of his last Chapter, I shall now add no more but this: If what I said before and to Mr. *Hinkley* satisfie him not, of what Religion and Party both sides were that began the War, and Mr. *Rushworth's* Collections, and other Histories of former Parliaments be not herein useful to him, let him but secure me from burning my Fingers with Subjects so red hot, by mens misinterpreting and impatience, and I will (God willing) give him so full proof, that (to say nothing of latent Instigators and consequent auxiliaries on either side, nor of the King himself, whose Religion is beyond dispute,) the parties else that begun the War in *England* did differ in Religion; but as A. Bps. *Land*, and *Neal*, and *Bromhal*, and such others, and A. Bps. *Abbot* and *Williams*, and Bp. *Bilson*, on the other side; and as Dr. *Mainwaring*, *Sibthorp*, &c. on one side, and Mr. *Ri. Hooker* and such on the other side differed. And if my proof be confutable I will not hereafter undertake to prove that *English* is the language of *England*.

But my Bargain must be thus limited. 1. I will not undertake that from the beginning there was no one Papist on the Kings side, or no one Presbyterian on the Parliaments: I could never yet learn of more than one in the House of Commons, and a very few Independents, but I cannot prove that there was no more.

2. You must not put me upon searching mens hearts: I undertake not to prove what any mans heart in *England* was; but what their Profession was, and what Church they joined with in Communion.

3. And you must not equivocate in the use of the name [*Presbyterian*,] or [*Nonconformist*,] and tell me that you take some A. Bps. and Bps. and such Divines as *Ri. Hooker*, and *Bilson*, and Bp. *Downname*, the Pillars of Episcopacy and Conformity, for Presbyterians.

And if it may be I would beg that of you, that you will not take the long Parliament for Presbyterians and Nonconformists, who made the Acts of Uniformity, the Corporation Act, the
Militia

Militia Act, and those against conventicles, and for banishment from Corporations, &c. Notwithstanding their high Votes about the Succession and Jealousies of Popery, and that which they said and did hereupon: For I confess if it be such Nonconformists or Presbyterians as those that you mean, I'll give you the better. And I must also desire that you call not the next Parliament, which consisted most of the same Men, Presbyterians or Nonconformists; nor the other since them? Or at least that hereafter before we dispute we may better agree of the meaning of our terms.

And I declare to the Reader, that nothing in all this Book is intended against the Primitive Church-Government or Episcopacy, nor against the good Bishops, Clergy, Councils, or Canons, which were many; nor against King, Parliament, Magistracy, the Laws, or Liturgy, or Church Communion; nor against our peaceable and patient submission where we dare not practically obey: But only against the diseases and degeneracy of Bishops, Clergy, Councils, and Canons, and those dividing practices, by which they have for 1200 Years and more been tearing the Christian World into the Sects of which it now consisteth; and against the whole ascendent Change from the Primitive Episcopacy to Papal maturity: and against our swearing, Subscribing, declaring, covenanting, professing, and practising, where we understand not the Imposers sense, and are unwilling by our private Interpretations to deceive them, and where we are persuaded that it would be heinous sin to us, not meddling with the case of Lawmakers or Conformists, who have no such fears, but think all good.

Chrysostome (before cited) in *Act. 1. Hom. 3. p. (mibi) 472.* speaketh harder than I ever did: [*ἐκ ἄλλως λέγω, &c.* which *Erasmus* translateth, [*Non temere dico, sed ut affectus sum & sentio; Non arbitror inter Sacerdotes multos esse qui salvi fiant, sed multo plures qui pereant.* His reason is the same which some give why they think most Physicians kill more than they cure, because there is so much Wisdom, Goodness, Watchfulness, and Diligence required to their Calling, which few of them have.

Luther is much sharper than I ever was, when he saith, [*Hieronymus & alii Patres vixerunt in temporali Successione Ecclesie, expertes Crucis & persecutionis. Episcopi enim jam tum cœperant crescere & augeri opibus, existimatione & gloria in mundo: Et plerique*

rique etiam tyrannidem exercebant in populum cui praeerant, ut testatur historia Ecclesiastica: Pauci faciebant sua Officia, &c. Loc. Com. 4. Class. p. 79, 80.

Et Cap. 27. p. 48. de Synodis. In posterioribus Conciliis nunquam de fide, sed semper de opinionibus & questionibus disputatum (after the first) ut mihi Conciliorum nomen pene tam suspectum & invisum sit, quam nomen Liberi arbitrii.

What *Melancthon* thought of the Papal design of magnifying Councils, and pleading the necessity of uninterrupted Succession of Episcopal Ordination, see in his Epistles, especially of the Conference at *Ratisbone*.

Dr. *Henry Moore* in his *Mystery of Iniquity* saith, p. 132. [“That Principle tends to the ruining of Faith, which sup-
“poseth that without right Succession of Bishops and Priests,
“there is no true Church, and therefore no true Faith: and
“that this Succession may be interrupted by the Misordination
“or Misconsecration of a Priest or Bishop, the Persons thus or-
“dained being Atheists or Jews, or ordained by them that are
“so---- As if a man could not feel in his own Conscience whe-
“ther he believed or not the truths of holy Scripture, without
“he were first assured that he was a Member of that Church,
“that had an uninterrupted lawful Succession of the Priesthood
“from the Apostles times till now.

Perhaps *Episcopius* and *Curcellanus* will be more regarded. Read that notable Preface of *Curcellanus* to *Episcopius* Works, p. 12, 13. [*Resp. Experientiam docere nullas unquam Controversias de Religione inter Christianos exortas auctoritate synodali feliciter terminatas fuisse---& certiore multo pacis viam esse----* Next he shews how little good even the *Nicene* Council did, and how much worse things were after: *Hierome* saying, that the whole World was Arian, And *Constantius* reproaching *Liberius* for being with one man against all the World: The Vulgar Dictum being, *Omne Concilium parit Bellum*. Whence he gathers that Councils, such as the World hath hitherto had, non esse idoneum componendis Religionis dissidiis Remedium: Et quamdiu illud usurpabitur perpetuas in Ecclesia & Republica turbas fore.

Episcopii & praecipuorum emicuit fides & animi magnitudo, quod ne promisso quidem solutionis ejusdem quo antea fruebantur stipendii, induci potuerint ut se ad silentium quod imperabatur servan-

dum obstringerent, etiamsi nonnulli in magna rei familiaris angustia versarentur.

So copious and sharp is *Episcopus*, Qu. 52. p. 56. b. in maintaining that the Magistrate hath no Authority to forbid sacred Assemblies to tolerable Dissenters, and that Ministers and People forbidden them must hold on to the death, that I will not recite the words, but desire his Admirers to read them.

An



*An Account to Edward Lord Bishop of Cork and Rosse
in Ireland, of the success of his Censure of Richard
Baxter in England: Detecting his manifold Un-
truths in matter of Fact.*

§ 1. **T**O give my Character of you whom I know not, as you do of me, is none of my work: But 1. Your *Stile* alloweth me to say, that by it you seem to me to be a man of Conscience, fearing God. 2. And yet your *Matter* assureth me, that you speak abundance of Untruths confidently; I suppose, partly by not knowing the persons and things of which you speak, and partly by thinking that you ought to believe the false Reporters, with whom you are better acquainted.

§ 2. The strait which you cast us into is unavoidable: Either we must seem to own all the false Accusations brought against us, which will hurt others far more than us; or else we must deny and contradict them, and that will pass for an intolerable addition to our guilt, and we shall be supposed such intemperate, fierce abusive Persons as you describe me, while you think we give you the Lye, or make you Slanderers. But we cannot cure your Misresentments, but must be content to bear your Censures, while we call you not Lyars, but only acquaint you with the truth.

§ 3. For my own part my final Judgment is so near, and I am conscious of so much evil in my self, that I have no reason to be hasty in my own Vindication, but much reason to take all hints and helps for deeper search, and will not justify my *Stile*. And God knows I am afraid lest selfishness or partiality should hinder

me from finding out my sin: and I dayly and earnestly beg of God to make it known to me, that I may not be impenitent: But either Prejudice, Converse, or somewhat else, maketh a very great difference between your Judgment and mine, of Good and Evil: And I cannot help it: If I err it is not for want of willingness to see my Errour, and openly retract it; nor for want of an ordinary Diligence to know the Truth.

The Sum of our difference, as far as I can understand you, is in these particulars.

I. Whether there be no sin imposed by the Laws or Canons on Ministers and People here?

II. Whether it was well done by the Bishops and other Clergy-Men to do what they did to cause those Laws, which silenced the whole Ministry of *England*, unless they would conform to all things so imposed in the Act of Uniformity; and actually silenced about 2000, and made those other Laws against their Preaching to more than Four, and against coming within Five Miles of Corporations, and such others, as adjudge Nonconformists to Gaols and Ruine; and whether the Clergy do well still to urge the Execution of those Laws, and are guiltless of the doleful Divisions of this Land, and danger of its Relapse to Popery?

III. Whether it be unpeaceable for a Nonconformist after 17 years silent suffering, to tell his Superiors why he dare not conform, when he is by them importuned to it? And to write a Confutation of a multitude of Volumns of false Accusations brought to justify the Executions?

§ 4. If you think you have proved all those Impositions sinless which I have mentioned in my first *Plea for Peace*, I think you might as well have shortly said, [*We Bishops are of so much Wisdom and Authority, that you must hold them lawful, because we say so.*] And must all be ruined that would not be so convinced? But if any of those Impositions prove to be sin, and so great sin as we cannot chuse but think they are, is it a greater fault to name them (when importuned) than to impose them? And a greater fault to feel, and say we feel, than to strike or wound men?

If we had taken it to be our Duty to have called those Clergy-Men to Repentance, which we think are ignorantly undoing themselves and the Land, how should we do it without naming

naming their Sin? Yea, and the greatness of it? And if we think it our Duty to deprecate our Destruction, and beg of you to spare our Lives or Consciences, how can we do it without telling what we suffer? If it be well done of you, and be no persecution, but your Duty for the Churches good, (as no doubt the Executioners think) the History is your praise, and you need not extenuate the Fact: Valiant Souldiers glory in the multitudes they kill: Had you silenced the other 7000 that conformed, when you silenced but 2000, your Victory had been the more famous. Some think those that are here against your ways, are not half the Land; were it murdering of one man, that another is judged for, it were not unpeaceableness to say, that he deserveth to be hanged: But the judge deserveth praise if he condemn an hundred such. But when those men who should be the tenderest Peace-makers, and skilfullest therein, shall be the men that bring such a Land as this into the Case that we are in, and will not be intreated, nor by any Experience be persuaded to consent to its Relief, I know not how to shew mercy to the Land or them, but by persuading them to repent. And if all sin were made a matter of Controversie, and many learned men were for it, this would not alter the Case with me. If I may compare great things with small, who sinned more? The *Irish* for murdering 200000, or Sir *John Temple*, Dr. *Henry Jones*, the E. of *Orery*, for recording and reporting what they did? Was it the sin of the *Savoyards* and others to kill and ruine the Protestants in *Piedmont*? Or of *Perrin*, and Sir *Sam. Moorland* to write the story? Did *Thuanus*, *Davilah*, &c. sin in recording the *French* Massacre? Or the *French* in doing it? Is it the *French* Protestants now that are criminal for describing and complaining of their Sufferings? Was *John Foxe* the Malefactor for writing the Sufferings of the Protestants under a lawful Queen? This day came out (*Mar. 10.*) a Narrative from *Bristol* how they are crowded in the Gaol on the cold ground, &c. Is the Report the Crime? Do you find a Justification in humane nature of such terms as these, [*You shall suffer whatever we will inflict on you, but shall not tell any that you are hurt, or who did it, or why?*]

§ 5. I have told the World so often over and over, that it is not all the Conformists, no nor all the Bishops that I impute our Sufferings to, that I must suppose you to understand it, specially when the Prefatory Epistle of the Book which you fall upon tells

tells it you of many Bishops by name. Therefore when p. 68. you say, [*I apply to you more than once, 1 Thes. 2. 15. They please not God, &c.*] and add, [*I believe in my Conscience he is mistaken.*] Either by [*to us*] you mean, all the Conformists or Bishops, and that is *not true*, as the words tell you: Or you mean, [*Us that procured or own, and execute the aforesaid silencing, afflicting Acts:*] which your words seem to mean. And then I do but say, Oh! What may temptation bring even good mens Judgment to? Is the silencing of 2000, the afflicting of many times more of the Laity, the Jealousies, Distractions, and Dangers of this Land, so small a matter, or so good, that *God is not displeased with it*? And can you in your Conscience own what the Bishops did towards it? No wonder then if Ceremonies be called *things Indifferent*. Certainly *this cannot be Indifferent*? It is a most *meritorious* or *excellent* work, or else a *heinous Crime*: It is either such a Cure as the cutting off a Cancerous Breast, or else if it be a sin, it must be as great as contributing to the endangering of as many score Thousand Souls as 2000 Ministers were likely to have helpt to save, and to the corrupting of the Church, and the Introduction of Popery. And few Christians think that *Nathan* sinned by unpeaceableness more than *David* by Murder and Adultery, though but once; or *Samuel* more than *Saul*; or the Prophet that reproved him more than *Jeroboam*; or Christ *Matth. 23.* more than the Pharisees; yea, or than *Peter, Mat. 16.* when he said, *Get behind me Satan, thou savourest not the things that be of God*; or *Paul* more than *Peter, Gal 2.* or than the Jewish Teachers, whom he called the *Concision & Dogs*; or *John* than *Diotrephes, &c.*

Guilt is tender, and they that think God is of their Mind when he is silent, *Psal. 50. 21.* will think men should be so too. And man dare not bid defiance to God, and openly proclaim a War against him, and therefore hath no way to sin in peace, but by a conceited bringing the Mind and Law of God to his. What sin is there that Learned Men father not on God: And then they must be praised and not reprov'd, and then it's worse than unpeaceable to aggravate that which they say God owneth; such men as I, would think it scarce credible, that the *Spanish* Inquisition, the *French* Massacre, the Powder-Plot, the Murder of 200000 in *Ireland*, the Perjuring of a Nation, the silencing of Thousands of faithful Ministers, should have one word of Justification

fication ever spoken for it. But we are mistaken: No doubt men can write learned Volumes to defend any of these; and if one do but say, *They please not God*, men may be found that can say, [*I believe in my Conscience that you are mistaken, and speak unpeaceably: God is pleased with it all.*] Sure the day of Judgment will be much to justify God himself, who is thus slandered as the Friend of every mans Sin. What wonder is it if there be numerous Religions in the World, when every selfish man maketh a God and a Religion of his own, fitted to his Interest and Mind? But when all men center onely in one God, and bring *their* Minds to *his*, and not conceitedly *his* to *theirs*, we may yet be One.

And if we could make men know, that *God is not for them*, and accepteth not of a Sacrifice of Innocent Blood, however men think that they do him *good Service*, yet they would not have this known: It's long since unhumbl'd Sinners turned Church-Confession into Auricular; If *Saul* do say at last, *I have sinned*, he would yet be honoured before the People. But the time is near when those that honour God he will honour, and those that despise him shall be lightly esteemed.

Few men living can easier bear with others for different forms and Ceremonies than I; but I take not the silencing and ruining of 2000 Ministers for Ceremonies (were that the worst of it) to be a Ceremony.

§ 6. Pag. 69. You say, *We are not all of one mind yet*: A sad word from a Bishop. Do you think that any two Men on Earth are of one mind in all things? Were those agreed whom *Paul* persuadeth, *Rom. 14.* to receive each other, but not to doubtful *Disputations*, and not to judge or despise each other, (much less to silence, imprison, and destroy.) We are agreed in all that is constitutive of Christianity, and agreed that all Christians should love others as themselves, and do as they would be done by. I confess if you have such eminent *Self-denial*, as to be willing, if ever you differ from the publick Impositions, about the lawfulness of any one thing, to be not only cast out of your Lordship and Bishoprick, but to be silenced, imprisoned and destroyed, I cannot accuse you of *Partiality* but of *Error*. I have known too many Conformists who needed no Bishop to silence them, (they never preached.) But that will not justify their desires that others be silenced.

I have

I have oft enough told you in how many things the Conformists are disagreed: I now say the Bishops themselves are not agreed of the very *Species* of the Church of England: To say nothing of their disagreement of the *Constitutive, national Head* or Governour; they are not agreed, *whether it be only a part of an universal, humane, political Church, subject to an universal humane supream Power, who hath the right of Legislation and judgment over them, or whether it be a compleat national Church of it self, a part only of the universal as Headed by Christ, but not as by Man, or as humane Politie, having no foreign Governour, Monarchical or Aristocratical, (Pope or Council.)*

Overdoing is illdoing and undoing. He that would make such a Law of Concord, as that none shall live out of Prison who are not of the same Age, Complexion, Appetite, and Opinion, would depose the King, by leaving him no Subjects. The Inquisition is set up in Love of Unity: But we know that we shall differ while we know but in part: Only the perfect World hath perfect Concord. I greatly rejoyce in that Concord which is among all that truly love God. They love one another, and agree in all that is necessary to Salvation: The Church of the Conformists is all agreed for *Crossing* and the *Surplice*, and for the *Imposed Oaths, Professions and Covenants*: Oh that all our Parishioners who plead for the Church were agreed that the *Gospel is true*, and that Christ is not a Deceiver, and that Man dyeth not as Dogs, but hath a Life of future Retribution.

§7. P. 69. Asking, [*Were not almost all the Westminster Assembly Episcopal Conformable men when they came thither?*] He can say, [*No, not in their hearts, as appeared by their fruits.*] And he cites some words of the sense of the Parliament, *Jun. 12. 1643.*

Ans. 1. See here a Bishop that knew the hearts of hundreds of men, whom he never saw, to be contrary to their Profession and constant Practice.

2. And he can prove by their reporting the Parliaments words what was these Ministers own Judgment.

3. And he can prove by those words in *Jun. 1643.* what was their Judgment a Year or two before, and is sure that the *Scots Arguments* did not change them.

4. And he can prove that those are no Episcopal Conformists who are for the ancient Episcopacy only (described by Bishop *Usher*), and

and take the *English* frame to be only lawful, but not *unalterable*, or *best*. And if really he do take him to be no *Episcopal Conformist*, who is for enduring any way but their own, it is he and not I that gave them so bad a Character: It is he and not I that intimateth, that those moderate Conformists who had rather Church-Government were reformed, than such Confusion made by silencing and hunting Christians, are at the Heart no *Episcopal Conformists*: Their Hearts I confess much differ from the Silencers and Hunters.

§ 8. He maketh me a false Historian for *fixing the War on the Erastian Party in Parliament*. *Ans.* Did I lay it only on the Erastians? Have I not undeniably proved that the War here began between two Episcopal Parties? Of which one part were of A. Bp. *Abbots*, Mr. *Hookers*, and the generality of the Bishops and Parliaments mind, and the other of Bp. *Lands*, *Sibthorps*, *Maynwarings*, *Heylins*, A. Bp. *Brombolls*, &c. mind: And the first sort some of them thought Episcopacy *jure Divino*; but the *English* Frame not unreformable: And the other sort thought it was but *jure humano*, and these were called by some Erastians. Let him give me leave to produce my Historical proofs, even to single men by name, that the *English* War began between these two Parties, and I defie all his false Contradiction: Only supposing, 1. That I speak not of the King, nor of the War in *Ireland* or *Scotland*. 2. That I grant that the Nonconformists were most for the Parliameur, and the Papists most against them.

But when I have said so much to Mr. *Hinkley* already to prove this, did this Lord Bishop think to be believed without confusing it?

§ 9. But it transcendeth all bounds of Historical credibility, that he answereth this by saying, [*He and all his Abettors must know the Catalogues of that Parliament, and that Assembly are still in our hands, the Copies of their Speeches, and Journals of their Votes, &c.*] *Ans.* They are so to the Shame of such Historians. You have many of them in *Whitlocks* Memorials; I knew so great a number my self of the Parliament, Assembly, and Army, as makes me pitty the Ignorant World, which is abused by such Historians as you and yours.

§ 10. As for your assuring me that *you look one day to answer for all you say*, it minds me of the words of your Dr. *Ashton*,

Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, who (*as going to the Bar of God*) undertakes to prove, that it is through Pride and Covetousness that we conform not. The Inquisitors also believe a day of Judgment. And what is it that some men do not confidently ascribe to the most holy God?

§ 11. Your praises of me are above my desert: I am worse than you are aware of: But mens sins against Christs Church and Servants in England, Scotland, and Ireland are never the less for that.

§ 12. You shew us that you are *deceived* before you *deceive*: You do but lead others into the way of falshood which you were led into your self, when you say, I am [*said to have asserted, that a man might live without any actual Sin.*] A Lord Bishop (*Morley p. 13.*) told it you, and you a Lord Bishop tell it others, and thus the poor World hath been long used; so that of such Historians men at last may grow to take it for a valid Consequence, [*It is written by them: Ergo it is incredible.*] I tell you first in general, that I have seen few Books in all my Life, which in so few Sheets have so many Falshoods in matters of Fact done before many, as that Letter of Bishop *Morley's*; which upon your Provocation I would manifest, by Printing my Answer to him, were it not for the charges of the Press.

2. And as to your Instance, the case was this: Dr. *Lany* impertinently talkt of our being *justified only by the Act of Faith, and not the Habit*: I askt him whether we are unjustified in our sleep? which led us further, and occasioned me to say to some Objection of his, that *men were not always doing moral Acts good or evil*: and thence, [*that a man is not always actually sinning, viz. In a mans sleep, he may live sometimes and not actually sin; as also in an Apoplexy and other loss of Reason.*] Hence the credible Bishop *Morley* printed that I said, *A man may live without any actual Sin*: Yea, and such other Reasons are given for his forbidding me to preach the Gospel. And now another pious L. Bp. *going to answer it at Judgment*, publisheth it as from him. O what a World is this, and by what hands are we cast down? Is my Assertion false or doubtful? Dr. *Bates* and Dr. *Jacombe* who were present are yet both living. By such men and means is the Church as it is: Arise O Lord and save it from them.

§ 13. You tell me, as Bp. *Morley*, of being the top of a faction of my own making, neither Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent,

dent, or Erastian. *Ans.* So, to be against all Faction is to be the top of a Faction: I am neither an Arian, nor a Sabellian, nor an Apollinarian, nor a Macedonian, nor a Nestorian, or Eutychian, or Monothelite, or a Papist, &c. Conclude *ergo* I am the top of a new Heresie, and silence and imprison me for it, and your Diocesane Conformity will be past all suspicion (even at the heart.) But you will one day know, that to be against all Faction, and yet to bear with the Infirmities of the weak, and love all Christians as such, is a way that had a better Author.

§ 14. P. 73, 74. As to your extolled Friend a *Nonconformist*, who you say, told you that [*I am not able to bear being gainsaid in any thing, for want of Academick Disputes, &c.*]

Ans. 1. Was your great Friend so excellent a man, and was it a good work to silence him, with which in your Conscience you think *God is pleased*?

2. Now you name him not, he cannot contradict you: Mr. *Bagshaw* said something like it of Mr. *Herle*, Prolocutor of the Assemblie, which his Acquaintance contradict.

3. I justify not my Patience; it is too little: But verily if you had silenced me alone, and Gods Church and Thousands of Souls had been spared, I think you had never heard me twice complain. Judge you whether I can endure to be gainsaid, when I think there are Forty Books written against me by Infidels, Socinians, Papists, Prelatists, Quakers, Seekers, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Sabbatarians, Separatists, and some Presbyterians, Independents, Erastians, Politicians, &c. which for the far greatest part I never answered, though some of them written by Prelatists and Papists have spoken fire and Sword: Nor to my Remembrance did any or all these Books by troubling me ever break one hour of my sleep, nor ever grieve me so much as my own sin and pain (which yet was never extream) have grieved me one day. Alas Sir! How light a thing is the contradiction or reproach of man who is speaking and dying almost at once?

§ 15. P. 75. As to my *Political Aphorisms* I have oft told you I wish they had never been written: But all in them is not wrong which Bishops are against. The first passage challenged by your Bishop *Morley* is, *My calling a pretence to unlimited Monarchy by the name of Tyranny*, adding my reason, *because they are limited by God who is over all*. Ministers were never under Turks thought worthy of punishment for such an Assertion: But Bi-

shop Morley is no Turk. If Monarchs be not limited by God, they may command all their Subjects to deny God, or blaspheme him, to take Perjury, Murder, and Adultery, for Duties: and they are unwise if ever they will be sick, die, or come to Judgment.

§ 16. You say, [*"I was told by a Reverend Prelate, that at the Conference at the Savoy, Mr. Baxter being demanded what would satisfie him, replied, All or Nothing: On this I reflected on what that grave Divine told me."*]

Ans. Alas good man! if for all other your historical notices you are fain into such hands, what a mass of Untruths is in your Brain? But why will you dishonour Reverend Prelates so much as to father them on such? I never heard the question put [*What will satisfie you?*] nor any such answer as *All or Nothing*: When the King commissioned us to treat of such *Alterations as were necessary to tender Consciences*, the Bishops, 1. Would not treat till we would give them in writing all that we blamed in the *Liturgy*, and all the *Alterations we would have*, and all the *additional Forms we desired*. 2. When thus constrained, we offered these on supposition, that on Debate much of it would be denied us, or altered; but they would not vouchsafe us any Debate on what we offered, nor a word against our *additional Forms*, *Reply*, or *Petition for Peace*. 3. To the last hour they maintained, that *No alteration at all was necessary to tender Consciences*.] And so they ended, and the Convocation doubled and trebled our Burden, and the Bishops in Parliament together.

Once Bishop Cousins desired us to lay by *Inconveniencies*, and name only what we took for downright Sin. I gave him a Paper describing *Eight such*: We did but begin to debate one of them, (*Casting such from the Communion of Christs Church that dare not take the Sacrament kneeling, though they be mistaken*) and our time ended.

Dr. Pierce undertook to prove it a Mercy to them to deny them the Sacrament; and he made a motion to me, that he and I might go about the Land to preach men into satisfaction and Conformity: I asked him how I could do that when they intended to silence me? For though I scrupled not kneeling at the Sacrament, if they made any one Sin the condition of my Ministry, I should be silenced, though they abated all the rest. It may be this went for [*All or Nothing*.] And I am sorry that the

the Bishops be not of the same mind : *St. James* was, that said, *He that breaketh one is guilty of all* : And *Christ* was, who said, *He that breaketh one of the least of these commands, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the Kingdom of God.*

So that it was not *All Inconveniencies*, but *All flat Sins* that we craved in vain to have been exempted from : Much less was it the *Etablissement* of all that we proposed to have been treated of, openly professing our selves ready to alter any thing amiss or needless upon treaty, and supposing there would be many such words : But they would not touch our offered additions, nor entertain any treaty about them.

And now pity your self who have been drawn to believe such Reverend Prelates as you say, and pity such as your Writings will deceive.

§ 17. That you take it to be contrary to a Christian temper to be sensible of the Sufferings of the Church, and to name and describe the sin that causeth them, and that but in a necessitated Apology for the Sufferers, is no wonder, the Reasons and your Answer I gave you before § 4. and 5. I think it no breach of Peace with Persecutors or Silencers, to tell them what they do, especially when the Sufferers are feigned to deserve it all ; and not to sin and that deliberately, is made a sin deserving all that we suffer and the Nation by it.

§ 18. But *p. 77.* tells us yet more whence your Errours come, even by believing false Reports, and then reporting what you believe. You say, [*Some People have talked of a Combination or Pact amongst themselves, that except they might have their own Will throughout, they would make the World know what a breach they could make, and how considerable they were.*]

Ans. 1. Do you not think that *Rogers, Bradford, Philpot*, and the rest, did so in *Qu. Maries* days, and that it was they that made the Breach by being burnt? What is it that such Historians may not say? So *Luther* was taught by the Devil, *Bucer* was killed by the Devil, so was *Oecampadius*, *Calvin* was a stigmatized Sodomite, and what not : And even the most publick things are yet uncertain before our Eyes : *Godfrey* killed himself : The Papists had no Plot : The Presbyterians have a Plot against the King : The Nonconformists silenced themselves : And did not the Citizens of *London* burn their own Houses? When you that are a Bishop cite other great Bishops for such things as
you

you do, may it not come in time to be the *Faith of the Church*, and thence to be *necessary* to all.

2. But how do you think all these that were scattered all over *England*, and knew not one another by name or Dwelling, should so confederate?

3. Do but think of it as a man. There were Nine or Ten Thousand Ministers that had conformed to the Parliaments way in possession: They were all to conform or be cast out. The Book and Act of Uniformity came not out of the Press till about that very day *Aug. 24*. Neither Conformists, nor (after) Nonconformists could see it, but those in or near *London*: What time was there to tell them all over *England* in one day? How knew we who would conform and who would not, when Nine Thousand were equally in Possession? If we had written to them all, would not One Thousand of our Letters have detected it? Or at least some of those that conformed, with whom we prevailed not?

4. What was it that moved them all to this Confederacy? To suffer Ruine in the World? To *make themselves considerable you say, and shew what a Breach they could make?* And for what? Unless they might have all their own Wills? And what was their Will? Was it to be Lord Bishops? Or domineer over any? Or to get great Benefices? I think no high-way Robbers do any Villanies meerly to shew what mischief they can do, much less ruine themselves to shew that they can do Mischief by Suffering. Some such thing is said of some odd Circumcellians that they killed themselves to make others thought their Persecutors: But Persecution was more hated then than now. Did the former Life and Doctrine of these Two Thousand men signifie a Spirit so much worse than the rest?

5. And do you think that the other Seven Thousand or Eight Thousand that conformed did confederate beforehand to conform? How could they do it who declared Assent and Consent to every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book which they never saw, unless they confederated at a venture, to do whatever was imposed? And if Seven Thousand could agree without confederating, why not Two Thousand? I could not then have my Post Letters pass without Interception: And it's a wonder that no Letter of this Confederacy was taken.

And I'll tell (not you, but those that believe me) how far we were from it. When we were all cast out and some new motion

tion was made for our service, one weak man moved here, that we might draw up a consenting Judgment to how much we could yield, that we might not differ. I answered that it was not our business to make a Faction, or to strengthen a Party; nor were we *all of one judgment about every Ceremony*, and therefore no man must go against his judgment for a Combination with the rest: If they would abate but so much as any one mans Conscience would be satisfied in, that one man must serve the Church accordingly. And if any were taken in, the rest would rejoyce.] This Answer silenced that motion, and I never heard any move it more: And I am fully assured there was never such a Combination.

But with this exception: How far any thought the Covenant bound them against our Prelacy I cannot tell. Those that I convers'd with said, it bound them to no more than they were bound to before. But I confess we did all confederate in our Baptism, against willful sin: And I know of no other Confederacies but these: which indeed was enough to make all men forbear what they judged to be sinful.

§ 19. You add, [*“ But yet it is not fair to over-reckon knowingly, and in ordinary course Two Hundred in the sum, as Mr. Baxter and others do, p. 155, 210. thereby to swell the account to the greater odium, by complaining roundly Two Thousand: This I must conclude to be done knowingly, for sometimes he only mentions One Thousand Eight Hundred, p. 151, &c. ”*]

Ans. I am persuaded that it is not knowingly that you speak so much besides the truth; but for want of knowing what and whom you talk of. I never medled with gathering the number, Mr. Calamy did, and shewed us a List of 1800, upon which I long mentioned no more, and seldom saw him afterward: But Mr. Ennis who was more with him, assuring me that they had after an account of at least 200 more, who were omitted; I sometime to speak the least mention the 1800, and sometime say about 2000, and by his last account that was the least. Yet with a Lord Bishop that knoweth nothing of all this, I *knowingly over-reckon*: But if God be pleased with their silencing, why do you take this ill?

§ 20. The next and great Accusation is my *extenuating the Bishops Clemency, and aggravating our Sufferings, and that against my Conscience I impute to the Bishops that bloodiness which they never*

ver intended but abhor. And he will not believe what I say of the death of any by Imprisonment or want.

Ans. The good Lady that pittied the Beggars when she came in out of the Frost and Snow, when she had warmed her self, chid them away, and said, it was warm enough. I could name you those in *London*, that travelled out of the North in great want, and took up with such cold Lodgings here in great want of all things, that they were past cure before their misery was known. How many poor Quakers have dyed in Prison many know: It's like you never heard of the death of Mr. *Field*, a worthy Minister, in the *Gate-house*; nor of Mr. *Thompson* in the noisome Prison at *Bristol*, nor of Reverend Mr. *Hughes* of *Plymouth's* Death, caused by his Prison sickness; perhaps you never read the Life, Sufferings, and Death of excellent *Joseph Allen* of *Taunton*: I will not be the gatherer of a larger Catalogue, But I believe some others will. But these you know not of.

§ 21. The words in my Book which I speak argumentatively, shewing clearly whither their cause will lead them, if they trust to bring us to Unity by force, you unworthily feign that I speak as accusing the Bishops Inclinations. My Argument was, *If you think by violence to effect your ends, it must be either by changing mens judgments, or by forcing them as Hypocrites to go against their judgments, or else by utter destroying them till there are no Dissenters: But none of these three ways will do it: Ergo Violence will not do it.* 1. I prove that force will not change their Judgments. 2. I prove they are such men as will rather suffer death than sin against their Consciences; and so less Sufferings which cure not do but exasperate the Disease. 3. I prove that if, when less doth no good, you would destroy them, that would not do your work but cross it. And doth this signifie that I charge the Bishops with bloody purposes? They openly tell us that it's *punishing* us that must bring us to Concord. I tell them, *Lesser will not do it, and greater will but hurt themselves.* A man would think that I hereby rather infer that Bishops will not be bloody, than that they will, when I argue *ab incommodo*. Truly Sir, I see nothing in your Book which tempted me to lament, that I mist the happiness of your Academical Education or Disputes: Nor do I envy those that now enjoy it. God save his Church from the worser part of them.

§ 21. You say, p. 79. You must needs look on my aggravating my

my own and the Dissenters Sufferings beyond Truth, you are sure beyond Probability, to have proceeded from want of temper. As for saying that some have lived on brown Bread and Water.

Ans. I find still that our difference lieth in matter of Fact, done in the open sight of the World: And if it were whether we are *English-men*, I have no hope of ending it! O what is History! My own Sufferings by them are very small, save the hindering of my Labour: Leave to work is all the Preferment that ever I desired of them: What I have had hath been against their Wills, who have called out for my greater restraint. God hath enabled me by the Charity of others to send some small relief to a few of those whose Case he will not believe. Some of them have Seven or Eight Children, and nothing at all of their own to maintain them, and live in Countries where scarce two Gentlemen of Estates within their reach do befriend them; and the People are generally poor; and many of these have none to preach to, being not permitted, And when they attempted to meet with some few secretly, to fast and pray in some case of need, have had their few Goods carryed away by Distress. Good Alderman *Ashhurst*, now with Christ, took care of many, and hath shewed me Letters and Certificates of undoubted credit, in the very words which I named. One is now near us, that was put to get his Living by Spinning. Mr. *Chadwick* was the last of whom I read those words in a just certificate, that he and his Children had long lived on meer brown Rye Bread and Water. It is now above a dozen Years since Dr. *Vermuxden* told me that Mr. *Matthew Hill* was his Patient, with Hydropical swell'd Legs, with drinking Water and using answerable Food through meer Poverty: But God turned it to good; for necessity drove him (when a little strengthened) to *Mary-Land*, where he hath been almost the only able Minister they have. We that know them our selves, and beg Money to relieve them, are supposed to be Lyars: for telling that which all their Neighbours know. Through Gods Mercy few in *London* suffer so much, (though divers are in great streights.) But great numbers in the Countrys who live among the poor, had not some of them now and then a little Relief from *London*, were like to beg for Bread, or fall into mortal Diseases by Food unfit for Nature. Even in *London* they that knew Mr. *Farnworth*, Mr. *Spinage*, and some others, and how they lived and dyed, understand me, I'll name Mr. *Mar-*

* Dead
since the
writing
of this.

tin formerly of *Weedon*, * very poor in *London*, to tell you of your impartiality; though he lost one Arm in the Kings Army, he had not a day abated him in *Warwick* Gaol for preaching.

§ 22. As to his repeating all my mention of their dealings, and my blaming the Bishops at the *Savoy* for our present divisions, and my aggravating the evils which Violence will produce if they trust to that way, I judge it all necessary to be spoken: Unknown sin will not be repented of nor forborn; nor unknown danger prevented; nor the unknown needs of the Peoples Souls relieved.

He asketh, *Is this the way to be at Peace with us?* I answer, There is no other way: What Peace can we have with them that think they are bound to silence us, and keep us six Months in Gaol for every Sermon, and so on for the next, and for the next? Or to pay 40 l. a Sermon, and to banish us five Miles from Corporations, and must not be told of any such thing? He was not unpeaceable that said, *He that seeth his Brother have need and shutteth up the Bowels of Compassion from him, how dwelleth the Love of God in him?* Nor for saying, *He that hateth his Brother is a Murtherer*: Nor Christ for telling us how he will judge them that did not relieve and visit him in his little ones; and how he will use him that beat his Fellow-Servants. It is with you and not with your sins that we would have peace. Not only *Massonius* and *Platina*, but even *Genebrard*, and *Baronius* speak far sharper of the faults of many Popes themselves, and all Historians of their Prelates, and yet are taken to be peaceable men. Either those that I mentioned will repent here or hereafter, and then will say far worse of themselves than I do. And may I not foretel it them, when it is but in necessitated deprecation of the miseries of the Land?

§ 23. One of their Champions wrote that he was *not bound to deny his own Liberty, because others would pievishly take scandal at it*. I shewed the sinfulness of that Conclusion, and that a mans Liberty often lay in as small a matter as a game at Chess, a Pipe of Tobacco, or a Cup of Sack: and most scandal is taken by pievish persons: and yet even a pievish mans Soul is not to be set as light by as such things. Christ and *Paul* made more of Scandal: And this very arguing of mine is numbred with my unpeaceable distempered words.

§ 24. As to his talk about our Controversies of passages in Conformity

Conformity, he confesseth that he hath not read my *Plea for Peace*, in which I have partly opened them: And much less what I have said since of them to divers others; and I confess I have neither mind or leisure to say all over again in Print, upon the occasions of such words as his, which have been oft answered.

§ 25. I named the Martyr-Bishops *Hooper, Ridley, &c.* as Nonconformists to the Laws of their Persecutors, to shew that such Sufferers leave a sweeter name than their Persecutors; and he feigneth me to have made them Nonconformists to our Laws, and saith, [*Ingenuity and Christian Veracity would blush to own this Art.*] Thus still false History is that which assaulteth us.

But I humbly ask his Lordship, 1. Whether he think that *Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer*, were more for Conformity than *Jewel, Bilson, and Hooker*, and *Abbot*? And 2. Whether he will so far reproach these men as to say, that *Jewel, Bilson, and Hooker* would have conformed by approving that which they most expressly wrote against? I have oft enough transcribed their words.

§ 26. To shew that since my expulsion I drew not the People of *Kidderminster* from the Bishops, I said that I [*never since came near them, nor except very rarely sent them one Line*]; which he pretends I contradict, by saying, *I sent them all the Books I wrote*. One might have found historical errours enough in his words without a Rack or Quibble. 1. Sure Books are somewhat rarer written than Letters. 2. An ordinary Wit would have understood that I spoke of *one Line* of Manuscript, or one Letter, and not of Printed Books, I delivered them to Mr *Simmons*, or their Neighbours to send them without Letters. And few of those Books were written before this Apology.

§ 27. As a Self-contradictor he saith of me, *sometime I am against all Subscribing*, as p. 60, 113. &c. and sometimes not.

Ans. Still untruth! P. 60. The words are [*If men were not driven so much to subscribe and swear as they are at this day.*] Reader, is it true that this is against *All Subscribing*?

Pag. 113. The words are, [*If we had learned the trick of speaking, writing, and swearing in universal terms, and meaning not universally but particularly, as many do, we could say, or subscribe, or swear as far as you desire us.*] And [*Take off the penalty*

of subscribing, declaring, crossing, &c. what good doth subscribing a Sentence which he believeth not?] Is this against All Subscribing?

§ 28. Whether to profess our tendernefs of other mens Reputation, and yet to name the nature and aggravations of the sin which we fear our selves, when we are importuned to it, be contradictory, let the impartial judge.

§ 29. P. 92. He saith, as my judgment, [*To subscribe and declare, that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King, or that an unlawful Oath cannot bind men to unlawful Actions, is Perjury, some of the greatest that Hell suggesteth.*] Ans. Not one true word? I believe all this to be as he saith: Both in my first and second *Plea for Peace*, I have largely told him what it is, and what it is not which I own; but he hath seen neither. and yet feigneth me to say or hold what I have so oft renounced.

§ 30. P. 94. He might have known how oft in Print I have retracted the Book called, *The Holy Common-Wealth*, wishing the Reader to take it as *Non-scriptum*: Yet he saith, [*as far as is generally known I have not done it.*] And how should I make it generally known more than by oft Printing it?

§ 31. P. 95. He pittieeth me for calling the Author of the *friendly Debate*, the *Debate maker*: And I pittie England for such pittiers.

§ 32. P. 96. Whereas the Convocation hath imposed on all Ministers a Profession of *undoubted certainty of the Salvation of dying baptized Infants*, without excepting those of Atheists or Infidels, I ask whether all the young, *unstudied* sort of Ministers have arrived at this *certainty* any more than I, and how they came by it? and crave their Communication of the ascertaining Evidence. And what doth his Lordship but pretend that I call the Convocation these young, *unstudied men*, as if they had made this Rubrick for none but themselves?

§ 33. And he hath found another fault which exceedeth all, and that is, the Title and Dedication of my *Methodus Theologiae*, where I say, that I dedicate it not to the *slothful, hasty, tired Sectaries, &c.* but to *studious, ingenious, humble, &c. young men, as being the persons that are above all others born, disposed, consecrated to Truth, Holiness, and the Churches Peace, &c.*] Exceeding bad!

Will you hear the proof that this is excessive Pride? 1. *The Book in the front indirectly and slyly calls the Reader, slothful, rash, foolish, &c.* Ans. Is this true? 1. It is only those that I would not have to be the Readers. Yea, 2. Only those that I say it is not dedicated to.

And do you think there are none such in the world? Will not his foresaid *Debater*, and *Dr. Parker*, and *Dr. Sherlock*, and abundance more, tell you that the Nonconformists are many of them such, and will you now deny it? If not, am I bound to dedicate my Book to such? By what Obligation?

But he saith so voluminous and embost a Title will deter the Readers. But do you not know the *Dedication* from the *Title*, only because it is printed on the Title Page? Is that unusual?

But the odious Arrogance followeth, [*Could any thing easily be said with more (appearance of) Arrogance; in the very Title Page too, than that his Book is above all others of the same Subject, (I know not how otherwise to interpret his supra omnes, viz. Methodus Theologiæ Christianæ, &c. framed, disposed and hallowed to the propagation and growth of Holiness, to the Peace and Honour of the Church.)*] I will now for ever acquit him of hypocritical Modesty.

Ans. I desire Mr. *Morrice* to compare this *Ld. Bp's* Translation with that oversight of *Theodoret's* words which he fasteneth on in me. What if I had said that this Bishop knoweth not how to interpret a plain Latine Sentence, as he saith it of himself? That which I most expressly say of *pious, ingenious Youth*, he feigneth me to say of my Book. Reader, look on the Book and judge whether *Methodus*, the Nominative Case singular, agree with *nata, disposita, consecrata*, the Dative Case, when *Juventutis Parti studiosa, sedula*, with many other Datives, went before it: There are no less than Twelve Adjectives joined to *Parti* in the Dative Case, and yet he construeth the three last a agreeing with the very first Title-name in the Nominative Case. And is this the way to make me lament my want of his Academical Education? Is it any wonder if these men prove us Liars and proud, and if they sentence us for lesser Crimes?

Yea, here he concludeth that I write [*so pievishly, so v. riously and unconstantly to my self, so blindly, as if willfully blind and not penitent of my own guilt, and so arrogantly, and disdainfully, &c.*] You have heard the proof.

§ 34. Pag. 99. He proveth my *unpeaceableness* from the *Petition for Peace*, and *Additions to the Liturgy*: The Crime here is, [*There's not one Office, no not one Prayer of the old Liturgy*, and is stiled *A Reformation of the Liturgy*, and little more than a *Director*].

Ans. O miserable World! What cure is there for thy Deceits? This good man talks as he hath heard, and so all goes on.

But 1. he knoweth not it seems what Title our Copy had, but judgeth by that which some body printed.

2. It seems he knoweth not that this Draught was only offered to debate, expecting abundance of Alterations: We openly declared that it was done on supposition of obliterating and altering all that they had any just exception against, were it but as *needless*. And for the clauses, [*These or the like words*] we protest, that we expected an Obliteration of them, but had rather the Bishops did the imposing part, if it must be done, than we.

3. He knew not it seems that ours were offered but as additional Forms, that such of them as both sides agreed on, might be mixt as *Alias's* with the old Liturgy. And doth his Lordship then exclaim with reason, that [*Not one Office, not one Prayer of the old was in*, when all (after correction) was to be in, and none left out. Oh what is History! and what men are its corrupters?

And (that his work may be homogeneous) p. 100, 101. having recited my Commendation of their Liturgy as better than any in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, he addeth as an Accusation, [*Yet p. 219. he complains of such failings in it, that IT IS A WORSHIP which we cannot in faith be assured God accepteth.*]

Reader, This is one of the lesser sort of deceiving Accusations. I said that (among greater sins which we fear in our Conformity) we fear least by Assent and Consent to all things contained and prescribed. &c. we should be guilty of justifying all the failings in that worship, and also of offering to God a *Worship that we cannot in faith be assured that he accepteth*. This Lord so wordeth it, that the Reader who peruseth not my words would verily think that I had said this of the Liturgy in the substance of Worship there prescribed, which I said only as to the things which we dare not conform to: And I explained it by saying, [*We dare not justify the best Prayer we put up to God in all things.*] E. g. To dedicate Infants to God without their Parents exprest Dedication, or consent, or their promise to educate them as Christi-

Christians, and this upon the false covenanting of Godfathers that never owned them, nor ever mean to educate them as promised, (as is known by constant experience, neither they nor the Parents intending any such trust in the undertakers) and to dedicate them by the sacramental Sign of the Cross, or a badge of Christianity, and to refuse all that will not be thus baptised. This we fear is a worship that God will not accept. But is this therefore said of the substance of the Liturgy?

And if the Lord Bp. be wiser or bolder than we, and be beyond all such fears, should he not suffer Fools gladly, seeing he himself is wise? And if he like not our fearing an Oath, Subscription, Declaration, Covenant, or Practice, which he thinks to be true and good, and we think to be false and evil, why may he not endure our timorousness while he may rush on himself and venture; should he not rather pitty us, while *St. Paul saith, He that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not in Faith.*

§ 35. P. 108. He questions whether their communion be my practice: and p. 110. giveth me two friendly Councils. 1. To peruse my Books, and retract what's amiss. 2. To tell the World now my sober Thoughts, what I could and would do were I to begin the World again.

I heartily thank him for his Counsel, for it is good and honest. But alas, what a thing is it to write of things which men know not! 1. He knoweth not that I have retracted much already; partly by disowning, and partly by large Obliterations: Of the first sort are my *Aphor.* of Justification, and my *Polit. Aphorisms* (though not all that's in them.) Of the 2d he may see many and large Obliterations in my *Saints Rest*, my *Key for Catholicks*, &c.

2. He seemeth not to know what bloody Books, to prove me one of the worst men living, their Church Advocates have written against me, fetcht mainly from these retracted Books and Words. Nor how they that commend *Augustine*, reproach me as mutable for those Retractions.

3. It seemeth he knoweth not that I have already performed his second Advice, in my *Cure for Church-Divisions*, my *Second Plea for Peace*, (about Government) Yea, Bishop Morley before the King, Lords, and Bishops at *Worcester-house*, speaking of Ceremonies and Forms, caused my *Disputations of Church-Government*, produced and said, *No man hath written better than Mr. Baxter*, (as if it were against my self.) And in Doctrinals,

my

my *Cathol. Theol.* and *Method's Theol.* and *Christian Directory* have expressed my maturest, calmest thoughts. But he that counsels me to it knows not that it is already done. And more for Revising and Retraction I would do, if necessity did not divert me, even the want of time and strength.

§ 36. P. 115. You say. [*That Reverend and great man Bp. Morley tells us [the generality of Nonconforming Divines shewed themselves unwilling to enter on Dispute, and seemed to like much better another way, tending to an amicable and fair compliance, which was wholly frustrated by—— a certain persons furious eagerness to engage in a Disputation.] This was it seems the sense of both sides at that time.*]

Ans. How far from Truth? It was the sense and Resolution of the reconciling Party, called by them Presbyterians: We all desired nothing but an amicable Treaty— We were promised by—— they should meet us half way. When we met, Bishop Sheldon declared the Agreement of his Party, that till we had brought in all our Exceptions against the Liturgies, and our additional Forms, they would not treat with us. Mr. Calamy, Mr. Clark, and others, would have taken that as a final Refusal, and meddled no more, lest Dispute should do more harm than good: I was against such an untimely end, and said, *They will report that we had nothing to say: It's better let the case be seen in writing, than so break off.* The rest wrote the Exceptions about the Liturgies: some Agent of the Bishops answered them without the least concession for alteration at all. I wrote a Reply, and the Additional Forms, and a Petition to the Bishops, and they would treat of never a one of them: But at the end, put us to dispute to prove any Alteration necessary, they maintaining that none at all was necessary to the ease of tender Consciences. (Of which before.)

§ 37. I had thought to have proceeded, but truly the work which the Bishop maketh me is so unpleasant, almost all about the truth or Falshood of notorious matter of Fact, that I have more Patience to bear his Accusations (whatever his learned Friend said of my impatience) than to follow him any further at this rate. But whereas he saith, that [*some will think that many things in his Book want truth.*] I am one of those, and leave it to the Readers Judgment whether they judge not truly: And whereas he lays so much stress on Bp. Morley's words, if any Printer shall be at the charge of Printing it, I purpose while he and the Witneffs are yet alive, to publish the Answer to his Letter, which I cast by to avoid Displeasure. And if they will still be deceived, let them be deceived. I cannot help it.

It is no wonder that he that is described, *Joh. 8. 44.* should carry on his Kingdom accordingly in the World: But must his Dial be set on the Steeple of Christs Church, and have a consecrated Finger for its Index? O lamentable Case!

F I N I S.

DIOCESAN CHURCHES

N O T

Yet Discovered in the Primitive Times.

O R

A Defence of the Answer to Dr. *Stilling-
fleets* Allegations out of Antiquity for
such Churches.

Against the Exceptions offered in the Preface to
a late Treatise called a Vindication of the Pri-
mitive Church.

W H E R E

What is further produced out of Scripture and
Antient Authors for Diocesan Churches is
also Discussed.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurst* at the Bible and three Crowns
at the lower end of *Cheap-side* near *Mercers Chappel* 1682.

CHURCHES DIOCESSAN

NOT

Yet Discovered in the Primitive Times

OR

A Defence of the Answer to Dr. Stilling

P ^{Errata} Age 49. l. 4. r. Sirmond. p. 67. l. 33. r. to. p. 76. r. Euodius. p. 80. l. 14. r. orato-
rum. p. 86. l. 16. r. Congregations. p. 87. l. 27. r. Bishops. p. 95. l. 2. r. *σταυρωσις*,
p. ult. l. 9. r. left. besides mis-accenting some Greek words, and other mis-pointings.

Against the Exceptions offered in the Preface to
a late Treatise called a Vindication of the Pri-
mitive Church.

WHERE

What is further produced out of Scripture and
Ancient Authors for Dioecesan Churches is
also Discussed.

L O Y D O Y

Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Bible and three Crowns
at the lower end of Cheap-side near Newchurch-lane 1682

THE
PREFACE.

Dissenters are accused of Schism by some of this Church, both these and the other are branded not only as Schismatics, but as Hereticks by the Papists; who upon this account judge us unworthy to live, and had actually destroyed both together, if God in Mercy had not discovered their devilish Plot. The discovery gave them some interruption, and put them upon an after-game, to retrieve what had miscarried. And this was so to divide us, as that our selves should help them in their design to ruine us all, when they had less hopes to do it alone. In pursuance hereof such influence they have had upon too many, as to raise in them a greater aversion to Dissenters than to Papists. These the Conspirators count their own, and think they may well do so, since

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they

The Preface.

they are too ready to concurre with them in their design to exterminate those, who are true Protestants in every point, and differ no more from this Church than those in France do, who by the same Counsels are at this time in extreme danger to be utterly extirpated. Others are so far prevailed with as to make use of one of the sharpest weapons they have against dissenting Protestants, and that is the charge of Schisme, lately renewed and re-inforced.

In these hard circumstances, while we do what we can against the common Enemy, we are put to ward off the blows of such as (notwithstanding some present distemper) we will count our Friends. Amongst other expedients, sufficient to secure us against this attaque, it was thought not unuseful, to answer the allegations out of Antiquity, concerning two points, wherein only the Antients were made use of to our prejudice, viz. 1. For Dioce-
san Churches, and then 2ly. Against the Election of Bishops by the people in the primitive times. Something was performed and published in reference to both these in a late discourse. One half
of

The Preface.

of which, where the latter is discussed, concerning the popular Elections of Bishops, hath yet passed without any exception that I can see or hear of; yet this alone is enough to defend us against the aforesaid charge: For those who will not make the primitive Church Schismatical, must not condemn any as Schismatics for declining such Bishops as that Church would not own.

Against the former part of the Discourse, concerning Diocesan Churches, some exception hath been made, but very little; a late Author in his Preface to a Treatise of another Subject, hath touched about 5 pages in 40. but so as he hath done them no more harm, than another, who to find one fault therein, runs himself into two or three, about ^{which} render'd indefinitely according to the mind of the Author who uses it, and the most common use of it.

I disparage not the Gentleman's Learning who attacks me in his Preface, he shews that which, (with answerable care and judgment,) might be serviceable in a cause that deserves it. But much more than he shews, would not be enough to support what he would establish. And he might have forborn the vi-

The Preface.

vilifying of those, who are known to be Masters of much more valuable Learning, than appears in either of us. The neglect of some accurateness in little things, remote from the merits of the cause, in one who is not at leisure to catch flies, is no argument that he is destitute of Learning.

I complain not of his proceeding with me ; but am obliged by him, that he treats me not with so much contempt as he does others, who less deserve it. I wish he had dealt more temperately with M. B. it would have been more for his reputation, and no prejudice to his undertaking ; a good cause, when it hath a sufficient Advocate, does not need any undecent supplements.

After I have cleared my Discourse from this Gentleman's exceptions, I thought it not impertinent to shew what in reason cannot be counted competent proofs of Diocesan Churches; that if any will pursue this debate farther, instead of opposing us, they may not beat the Air, and amuse those that enquire after truth, with what is insignificant. Withal I have given an account of what other allegations out of Scripture and Antiquity this Author
bath

The Preface.

both brought in other parts of his Treatise for such Churches; and shew'd that there is no evidence in them, as to the purpose they are alledged for.

In short, I find nothing in this Author, or any other before him, which may satisfie a judicious and impartial man, that in the two first Ages of Christianity any Bishop had more than one particular Church or Congregation for his proper charge; or that in the third Age, there was any Bishop which had a Church consisting of more than are in some one of our Parishes, unless it was the Church of Rome (nor is there sufficient evidence produced for that:) Or that in the middle of the fourth Age there were 4 Churches, each of which comprised more than could assemble in one place (though if they had contained more, that might be far enough from making them Diocefans;) Or that afterwards, within the time of the four first General Councils, where there were several Churches belonging to one Bishop, he did exercise jurisdiction over them alone, or only by himself and his Delegates. It will be time enough to censure us as Schismaticks for declining Diocesan Churches, when they have made it appear,

The Preface.

pear, that there was such, in the best ages of Christianity : (which not appearing, the censure falls upon the primitive Christians, from whom it will slide of upon themselves.) If they will forbear us, till this be performed, we need desire no more. Unless we may prevail with those who sincerely profess themselves Protestants, to regard the securing themselves and their Religion from the destructive designs of the Papists, more than those things which are not properly the concern either of Protestant or of Religion.

As for those who prefer the Papists before Dissenters, and revile these as worse, though they differ in no one point of Religion from other true Protestants : We need not wonder if we meet with no better treatment from them, then from declared Papists; since by such preference they too plainly declare the Protestant Religion to be worse than Popery, in their account. The following sheets have lain by me many Months, and had done so still ; but that the importunity of some, and the misrepresenting of my silence by others, forced me to publish them.

*Diocesan Churches not yet discovered in
the Primitive times.*

TO shew that many Presbyters in one Church was not enough to prove it a *Diocesan*, I made it manifest that it was usual in the anti-ent Church, to multiply Presbyters, *beyond what we count necessary*; (not beyond what is necessary, as it is too often misrepresented:) For this I offer'd two Testimonies, one asserting it to be so in the *First Age*, the other in the *Fourth*, and thought these sufficient, if they could not be denied, (as they are not) to evince it to have been so in the *Third*: For who can reasonably suppose, but that had place in the *Third*, which was usual both in the Ages *before* and *after*? The first was that of *Bishop Downham*, who says, *at the first Conversion of Cities, the number of people converted were not much greater than the number of Presbyters placed amongst them.* But *this*, its sayed *can be of little use*; 'because, 1. This 'was not the case of the Church of *Carthage*, it was 'not a new converted Church, but settled long before, 'and in a flourishing condition.

The Church of *Carthage* by the fierce persecutions in *Cyprians* time (which is the time we speak of) was brought so low, and reduced to so very few, as if it had been but new converted, and how was it *in a settled and flourishing condition*, when it was so lamentably wasted, and still harrassed one year after another? or who can be-
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(a) Lib. 4.
Ep. 4.

lieve it, that reads Cyprian lamenting ; *Pressuræ istius tam turbidam vastitatem, quæ gregem nostrum maxima ex parte populata est, adhuc & usque populatur*, and that they were *positi inter plangentium ruinas, et timentium reliquias, inter numerosam & languentium stragem, et exiguum stantium paucitatem* ? (a) Was not this much the case of the Apostolical Churches, unless this of Carthage was worse, and so less for our Author's advantage ? Or if this were otherwise, the Churches in Nazianzen's time were not newly converted, but settled long before, and in a flourishing condition ; which yet cannot be denyed to have had more Presbyters than we count needful. So that this was the practise in every condition of the Church, whether flourishing or not.

2. ' He sayes, many more Presbyters may be ordained in a City, than is necessary for the first beginning of a Church, with respect to future increase. &c.

And who will question, but the many Presbyters in the Church of Carthage were for future increase both in City and Country ? So that herein the case is not different ; And the design of that number of Officers might partly be for other Congregations, (Episcopal Churches, though not Diocesan) to furnish them with Officers. This is apparent afterwards in the practice of the African Churches, who when a new Church was erected, supplied it with a Bishop or other Assistants from places better stored with Officers ; And it is exemplified particularly (as we shall see hereafter) in the provision which St. Austin made for Fussala.

' He sayes further, the multitude of Presbyters belonging to one Congregational Church, might be occasion'd by the uncertain abode of most of the Apostles and their Commissioners, who are the Principal, if not the only Ordainers of Presbyters mentioned in Scripture.

But

But herein he does but guess, and had no reason to be positive, unless the *Apostles* and their *Commissioners*, (as he calls them,) had been then the only Ordainers, which he will not venture to affirm, knowing what evidence there is against it.

‘Lastly, he sayes, if this opinion of *Bishop Downham* had any certain ground in Antiquity, we should probably hear of it with both eares, and we should have it recommended upon antienter Authority than his.

This of *Bishop Downham* hath certain ground in the best antiquity, if the *New Testament* be such ; where it is plain there were many Presbyters in diverse Churches, such as are not yet, nor ever will be proved to be *Diocesan*.

To that of *Nazianzen* ; he sayes, ‘it hath received its answer, and adds, he that cannot answer it to himself, from the great difference between the condition of the Church in *Cyprian*, and in *Nazianzen*’s time, hath a fondness for the Argument.

This is the answer it received, *Pag. 51.* and this difference was thus expressed a little before ; ‘But that any Church fixt and settled, having its Bishop alwayes present, should multiply Presbyters *beyond necessity*, in the circumstances of the Primitive Christians before *Constantine*, is altogether incredible ; for the necessary expences of the Church were very great, the poor numerous, the generality of Christians not of the Richest, and the Estates they had being at the discretion of their enemies, and ruin’d with perpetual persecution, &c. He sayes, multiplying Presbyters *beyond necessity*, and *without necessity* ; while he alters my words so as to change the sense, he disputes against himself, not me ; But this looking more like an Argument than any thing before, I shall take a little more notice of it. 1. Is not all this applicable to the Churches in the *Apostle*’s times,

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when

when it cannot be denied *Presbyters* were multiplied beyond what we count necessary ? *The poor numerous, the generality of Christians not of the Richest, and the Estates they had being at the discretion of their enemies, and ruin'd with perpetual persecution.*

Further, the Church before *Constantine* and *Carthage* particularly, supposing these to be its circumstances, might have many *Presbyters* without any great charge : For 1st. the Church Stock was reserved *only* for those in want, τοῖς δεινομένοις, as is determin'd in one of the *Canons* which pass for *Apostolical*, (b) and the same decreed in the synod at *Antioch*. (c) *Ambrose* even in the 4th. Age, will have none to have a stipend who hath other revenues, *Qui fidei exercet militiam, agelli sui fructibus, si habet, debet esse contentus ; si non habet, stipendiorum suorum fructu.* (d) And *Chrysostom* tells us that in Elections, those of the Competitors that had Estates did carry it, because the Church would need to be at no charge in maintaining of such, ἐκ αὐτῶν δέοιτο τρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσόδων. 2^{ly}. When they had no Estates, and the Church could not maintain them, they were to provide for themselves by some honest employment. The Council of *Elvira* allows all sorts of Clergy men to drive a trade, for their living, provided they did it only in the Province where they lived, (f) and in the 4th. Council of *Carthage* it is ordered, that the Clergy, though they be learned in the word of God, shall get their living by a trade. (g) and in the next Canon that they shall get food and rayment by a Trade or Husbandry, with this proviso, that it be not a prejudice to their Office. Our Author says indeed, (h) that this is contrary to the usage of all other Churches ; how true this is may be seen by the Canon before cited. He says also, that this is forbidden by the 3^d. Council of *Carthage* ; but neither is this so, that Canon adds but another restriction, viz. that they get not their livings by

(b) Can. 4.

(c) Can. 25.

(d) Offic. L. 1. c. 36.

(e) De sacerdot. Ser. 3. Pag. 23. Edit. Savil.

(f) Can. 19.

(g) Can. 51.

(h) Pag. 154.

by an employment that is sordid or dishonest, where the Latine and Greek both agree in it. 3ly. The Church was to allow none of them, no not *Bishops* more than necessary, even after *Constantine's* time. That Canon call'd the *Apostles*, and the other *Antioch* forecited, expresse this in the same words, *the Bishop may have of the Church Stock what is needfull, if he be necessitous*, τὰ δεοντα ἐὶ δεοίτο πρὸς ἀναγκαί-
as *χρείας*, for necessary uses, and these are afterwards explain'd to be food and rayment. *Zonaras* expresse it fully and clearly, whom he that the Canon doth not satisfie, may consult. (i) Can. 15. in Cod. 16.

Having shew'd out of *Justinian*, that 60 Presbyters belonged to the great Church in *Constantinople*, and thence inferr'd they were numerous in *Constantine's* time, the 'number (sayes he,) was become extravagant in *Justinian's* time; but what is this to their number in *Cyprian's*?

He should have asked the *Dean* this, who to prove *Diocesan* Churches from the number of Presbyters, immediately after Testimonies out of *Cyprian*, brings this of *Justinian*.

'For this very edict of *Justinian* shews that this multiplying of Church Officers was an innovation, and therefore would have them reduced to the first establishment.

Justinian took order to retrench the numbers of Presbyters, not therefore because it was an innovation, but because the Church revenue could not maintain so many, which is expresse in the *Novel*.

'But that first establishment it seems admitted great numbers, for one Church had 60. True; but it must also be noted first, that these 60 were to serve more than one Church.

Some may be ready to ask how it can be true, that one Church should have 60, and yet more than one had these 60 amongst them. 'For

‘ For there were three more besides *St. Sophia* to be supplied by these Presbyters. &c.

True ; but this still confirms what I answer’d to their argument from the multitude of Presbyters, that in the antient Church the Officers were multiplyed *above what we count needful* : For it is not now thought needful that any 3 or 4 Churches in a City, should have 60 Presbyters, 100 Deacons, 90 Subdeacons, Readers 110. &c.

‘ Yet after all, there is no argument to be drawn from this number, for these were *Canons* of a particular foundation, design’d for the service of a *Collegiate Church* ; and no measure to be taken from thence concerning the numbers of Presbyters belonging to the Diocess. This is evident from the Preface of the said *Novel*.

If no argument is to be drawn from this number, why did the *Learned Dean* draw one from it ? 2ly. This seems scarce consistent with the former Period : there, these Presbyters were for 3 or 4 Churches, here they are but for *one Collegiate Church* of which they were *Canons*, and this said to be evident in the *Preface*, where I cannot see it. 3ly. *Since no measure is to be taken from hence concerning the numbers of Presbyters belonging to a Diocess* ; it seems there may be this number of Presbyters in a place which cannot be counted a *Diocess*, (as this one great Church never was, nor can be) and then no argument drawn from the number of Presbyters at *Rome, Carthage, Edessa, &c.* will prove a *Diocesan Church* ; for here was the greatest number, which any where we meet with.

Dr. St. to prove *Diocesan Churches* from the numberousness of Presbyters, mentioned 60 in C. P. in *Justinian’s* time ; from hence on the by, I thought it reasonable to suppose they were numerous in *Constantine’s* time, when yet *Theodoret* sayes, *all the Brethren met together with the Bishop*. That the number of Presbyters is no
Proof

proof of a *Diocesan* Church was evinced sufficiently before: this fell in occasionally, and was added *ex abundanti*; Yet upon this supernumerary stragler he turns his main force, spending about 12 Pages on it. I am little concerned what becomes of it, since the main Hypothesis is already secured by the premisses; but that this Gentleman may not quite loose all his labour, I am willing to loose a little, in taking some notice of it.

‘I must confess that what is added concerning the Church of C. P. is somewhat surprizing, no doubt says he, that the Presbyters were *more numerous* in C. P.

Indeed it might have been surprizing if I had said as he reports me, that they were *more numerous*; but I saw reason not to say so, though what reason there was to impose it on me I know not: I cited Soc: misprinted Soz. saying, *Constantine built two Churches at C. P.*, but laid no stress on it at all. (k) *It is true*, he says *not that* (k) Soc. l. i. c. 12. *he built no more than two*, but his expression plainly implies it, and he was concerned if he had known any more to have mention'd it, when in the same Line, he says *Constantine intended to make it equal to Rome*. Eusebius's words agree well enough herewith, he says *Constantine adorn'd it*; *πλείουσιν*, *with more Churches*, and that's true, if he built but *two* more, or any more than was there formerly, or any more than was usual. And these *more Churches* were not in the City, but (as the *Historian* speaks) partly there, and partly *πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*, which as the word is used, may denote places many Miles distant from the City, as the Gentleman elsewhere observes after *Valesius*. Sozomen says he built *πύλλας*, many Churches, (not very many as he will have it) but if he thereby meant more than are named by *Socrates*, we need not understand that done before the time *Theodoret* speaks of; Nor should a lax expression be more relied on,

L. 9. C. 24.

on, than one that is punctual and definite; unless we have a mind either to be misled, or to set the two *Historians* together by the ears. *Sozomen* names but one Church more than *Socrates* did, and that not *in*, but a good distance from the City, (70 Furlongs by Land,) and 3 may pass for *many*, when it was a rare thing for any City to have *more than one*. The best Authors, as they sometimes express *very few* by *none*, and a *generality* by *all*; so they express *more than ordinary* by *many*; and *two or three such Churches* in one City were more than ordinary at that time, when one City in an Hundred had not *two* Churches, and one in a Thousand had not *three* Churches, that could be styled μέγιστοι: *all that Constantine* built here were *such*, both *Eusebius* his *more*, and *Sozomen's many*, are said, by them to be very great, μέγιστοι. But no considerable Author that I meet with in that Age, or some Hundreds of years after, names more than two *very great Churches* erected by *Constantine* in that City. And if comparison be made, there is no *Historian* of those times, to be more regarded in matters which concern *C. P.*, than *Socrates* who tells us, that he was born and educated in *C. P.*, and continued there (as an advocate) when he wrote his History.

But if we should suppose that *Sozomen* intended more than 3 or 4 Churches, or that the *Emperour* built no more than was requisite, and only consulted convenience, and design'd not State or Magnificence, (which yet our Author a little after says he did; and we know nothing is more ordinary than for great Cities to have more Churches than are needful: it was so in *London* before the Fire, and the retrenching of their number since shews it:) yet this will be so far from proving *Alexander's Church* in *C. P.* to be *Diocesan*, that it will not prove it greater than some single Congregations: for there were 12 Churches in *Alexandria*, when yet the Church
in

in that City adhereing to *Athanasius* consisted of no more than are in some one of our Parishes. For which such Evidence has been brought, as is not yet, nor I think, can be defaced. 'Nor can we imagine that two Churches, much less one, could suffice all the Christians in C. P. when the City of *Heliopolis* being converted to Christianity required more, and *Constantine* built several for them, ἐκκλησίας ὅκτις.

The word *plurally* expressed is much improved by our *Author*, he makes out of it *diverse Churches*, and *all these Churches*, when yet *all these* were but *one Church*, as *Socrates* himself makes it plain a little before l; for *Soc. l. i. c. 18.* having related how *Constantine* ordered a Church to be built near the Oak at *Mambre*, he adds, that he ordered *another Church* (not *Churches*) *to be erected at Heliopolis*, ἐτίεον ἐκκλησίαν κατασκευάζειν. And to put it past doubt, *Eusebius* whom the *Emperour* employ'd about those structures, and from whom in all likelihood *Socrates* had the Relation, gives an account but of *one Church* there founded by the *Emperour*, which he calls οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐκκλησίας *m*, and that it was furnished with a *m l. 3. c. 56. De* Bishop, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. So that the Bishop of *Heliopolis* had but one Church for his Diocess, which *vita Constant.* our *Author* should not be so loath to own, since it cannot be proved that at this time one Bishop in an hundred, had more.

Valesius (whom our *Author* much relies on) in his *Notes* upon this place, is so far from thinking that *Constantine* built more Churches in *Heliopolis*, that he judges this one at present was not necessary for it, the Town having then no Christians in it: and assigns this as the reason why *Eusebius* speaks of it as a thing unusual, that it should have a Bishop appointed, and a Church built in it. His words are, *Fortasse hoc novum & inauditum fuisse intelligit, &c.* He may think this new and unheard

in lib. 3. de vit.
Constant. c. 58.
p. 235.

of, that a Church should be built in a City, where as yet there were no Christians but all were alike idolaters. Therefore this Church was built at Heliopolis, not for that there was any necessity of it, but rather in hope that he might invite all the Citizens to the profession of the Christian Religion. So that the Bishop here had none for his Diocese but one Church, and that empty, there being then no Christians in that one Parish; which yet was all he had to make him a *Diocesan*.

n In Aët. Hom.
11. pag. 674.

o De Magnit.
Rom. lib. 3. c. 3.

The better to confute *Theodoret*, who saies (for they are his words, not mine) that *Alexander with all the Brethren met together*, he endeavours to shew the state of that Church about the latter end of *Constantine*, &c. this he does here and after by an undue Application of some passages in *Sozomen*. For the account which that *Historian* gives of that City is not confined to *Constantine's* time, but reaches beyond it, ay, and beyond *Julian's* too, which appears, as by other passages, so by his mentioning the *heathen Temples* in the time of that Emperour. And with respect to the time after *Constantine* must that expression be understood, which makes *C. P.* to exceed Rome, not only in Riches, but in the number of Inhabitants, otherwise it will be apparently false. For when *Chrysostome* was Bishop there, about 70 years after (when it is like the number of the Inhabitants were doubled, it cannot be questioned but they were far more numerous) he who best could do it, reckons the Christians then to be an 100000 *n*; our Author will have us look upon the Jews and Heathen there to be inconsiderable but let us count them another 100000. Yet both put together will fall incomparably short of the number in old Rome, which by the computation of *Lipsius* was at least two millions o. And in *Constantine's* time new Rome was as far short of the old

as

as to its greatness in circuit, for whereas *Herodian* declares that *Severus* quite demolished *Byzantium* for siding with *Niger*, and reducing it to the state of a Village subjected it to *Perinthus*, *κώμη δαλδέν Περινθίοις δωρον εδόθη* p. *lib. 3. p. 68.* we cannot in reason suppose it to be extraordinarily spacious; yet as *Zosimus* reports, all the enlargement which *Constantine* gave it, was but the addition of 15 Furlongs, *σαδύοις πεντεκαίδεκα* q. Now suppose it was 30 q *lib. 2. p. 62.* or 40 Furlongs in compass before (and so larger than one City in an hundred) yet this addition will leave it less than *Alexandria*, which, as *Josephus* describes it, was 80 Furlongs, that is, ten miles in circumference r, yet *Alexandria* was four times less than *Rome*, for by *Vopiscus's* account, in *Aurelian's* time, not long before *Constantine*, the walls were made by him near 50 miles in circuit. So it will be in comparison of *Constantinople* when first built, rather like a Nation than a City, as *Aristotle* said of the other *Babylon*, *ἔχει περιγεγραμῶ μάλλον ἔθνος, ἢ πόλις* s. s *Pol. lib. 3. c. 2.* If then we will have this passage of *Sozomen* to have any appearance of truth, it must be extended far beyond *Constantine's* time, when, as *Zosimus* tells us, many of the succeeding Emperours were still drawing multitudes of People to that City, so that it was afterwards encompassed with walls far larger, *πολλῶ μείζοσι*, than those of *Constantine* t. And in an Oration of *Themistius*, it is made a question whether *Theodosius junior* did not add more to C. P. than *Constantine* did to *Byzantium*. t *lib. 2. p. 65.*

‘ Many of the *Jews* and almost all the Heathen were converted and became Christians.

The expression of *Sozomen* does not hinder but as the main body of the *Jews* remained, so the numbers of the Heathen might be considerable. *Tertullian* speaks of Citizens in his time as if they were almost all Christians,

u Apol. c. 37.

penè omnes cives christiani u ; yet no instance can be given of any one City where the Christians were the major part of the Inhabitants : those that take his words in a strict sense are very injurious to him, and make him speak that which no antient Records will warrant. *Sozomen* also may suffer by straining his expression ; but I will not digress to take further notice of what is not material ; for I design not, nor have any need, to make any advantage of the numbers of the Heathens in this City.

w Novel. 43.

He tells us of 950 Work-houses whose rents were allowed to defray the Funeral expences of all that died in the City (for so it is expressed in the Constitution,

x Nov. 59. c. 2.

περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων ἀνδρῶν ὅσων τὸ πένθος πέποιεν w) these being performed with great solemnity, and multitudes of Attendants maintained by those rents for that purpose x. How this here makes the Christians in C. P. to

y Cod. de Eccl. Lex. 4.

be so very numerous as he would have them, he should have shewed us ; I am not yet so sagacious, as to discover it. The number of the Decani was determined by *Honorius* to 950 y. Our Author thinks it

z Novel. 59. c. 2.

probable they were so many at the first establishment, but there's more ground to believe, they were much fewer in *Constantine's* time ; for about 800 were counted sufficient in *Justinian's* Reign, 200 years after, when the City was both larger, and much more populous and in its greatest flourish z. Those that consider the premisses, may well think, he might have form'd his conclusion in terms less confident, to say no worse of it.

Next he forms an Objection against himself : ‘ notwithstanding the number of Christians in C. P. might be much too great for one Congregation, yet the major part might be *Hereticks* or *Schismaticks*, such as came not to the Bishop's Church, and therefore all that

that adhered to him might be no more than could meet in one Assembly.

To which he answers, *that the number of Hereticks and Schismaticks was inconsiderable, and will not except the Arians or Novatians. For the Arians, he saies, they had not yet made a formal Separation.*

But if they did not separate themselves, the Church would have them separated, and did exclude them from communion, and withstood *Constantine's* importunity for their admission, both here and in other places: *Athanasius* was threatned by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* a, and banished by the *Emperour* for this cause among others. And *Alexander* being secured by *Arius* his death from admitting him to Communion, was the occasion of this passage in *Theodoret* which gives our *Author* so much trouble. Now the *Arians* being debarred from communion, lessened the Bishop's Church, both here and elsewhere, as much as if they had separated themselves. And they were numerous here, this being the place where they had greatest favour; in *Constantine's* Edict against the *Hereticks* whose meetings he would have suppressed, the *Arians* were not mentioned when the other are named b. *Socrates* writes that the People in this City was divided into two Parties the *Arians* and the Orthodox, they had continually sharp bickerings, but while *Alexander* lived the Orthodox had the better; as soon as he was dead (which was * while *Constantine* lived) it seems they appeared equal, for the contest, saies he, was dubious, ἀμφήρις ἢ ἡμίση c. In *Nazianzen's* time so far they overtopped the Orthodox, that this great *Diocesan* Church appear'd but in the form of a private meeting, held in a very little house, where he kept a Conventicle with them, ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ ἐκκληνοῖαζε, so *Sozomen* d, and *Socrates* agrees with him in the expression, ἐν μικρᾷ οἰκίᾳ, such a diminutive place seems as un-

a Soc. lib. 2. c. 17.

b Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 62. 63.

* Vales observ. in Soc. & Soz. l. 2.

c Soc. lib. 2. c. 6.

d Lib. 7. cap. 5.

unproportionable for such a *Diocesan Church* as a *Nut-shell* for *Homer's Iliads*, or a *Key-hole* for a *Witch*, to use our Author's Elegancies.

As for the *Novatians* to which he will have no more allowed than a *Conventicle*, they were numerous in other places, they had once diverse Churches in *Alexandria*, many Churches in *Rome* and in other places. It is like they were numerous here, for here they had as much favour or more, and longer too, than in the Cities forementioned, here *Socrates* sayes *they had three Churches* e, and if three Churches would but make one *inconsiderable Conventicle*; it is possible the other Orthodox Churches (though he will have them to be many) might be comprized in *one vast Congregation*.

I might observe how much *Sozomen* is mis-represented in what he sayes next of those concerned in the *Edict*, the *Novatians* especially. He speaks not *mincingly* as our Author would have him, but fully that the *Novatians did not suffer much* by the *Edict*; he does not say *only that it was probable* they suffered little, but sayes this only of a reason himself gives, why they suffered not much. He gives other reasons for it than *the opinion*, the *Novatians* had of that Bishop. He does not say the *other Hereticks were altogether extirpated*. He does not confess that *the Novatians suffered the same measure with others every where*, no, nor any where else, it is the *Montanists* that he sayes this of. He *dares to affirm they had a Conventicle* or more, for he affirms they had an eminent Bishop in *C. P.* and were not only *numerous therebefore* the *Edict*, but *continued so after*. The Gentleman was in too much haste here, as himself will perceive, by observing how much his account differs from the *Historians*.

At last he comes to that passage of *Theodoret* which occasioned all these lines, *but Theodoret affirms they were*

were no more than could meet in one Church, and that they did actually do so, ' I answer, sayes he, that Theodoret ' does not say so, and the passage cited does not conclude it.

I did not say Theodoret affirms they were no more, than could meet in one Church, but he sayes the same in effect, viz. that all the Brethren assembled with Alexander. His words are, *Alexander, the Church rejoycing, held an Assembly with all the Brethren, praying and greatly glorifying God.* The words are plain, and the sense, I take them in, is open in the face of them. Nor do I believe that any disinterested person would put any other sense upon them than this, that the generality of Christians of which the Church at Constantinople consisted, assembled together with their Bishop Alexander, to praise God joyfully for their deliverance by the death of Arius. But he will not have the words taken in a general sense, but will suppose them taken with respect to that particular Congregation, in which Arius was to be reconciled. Yet this supposition hath no ground either in the words, or in the contexture of the Discourse, or any where else that I know of, or our Author either; for if he had, we should have heard it with both ears, as he speaks elsewhere. He will not have all the Brethren, to be all the Believers at C. P. yet he knows that Brethren and Believers are Synonymous terms both in Scripture and ancient Authors. And those were the Believers or Brethren of the Church of C. P. which had occasion to rejoyce, and that was the whole Church there: as for ~~unless~~, render'd *Universi*, I do not take it for all and every one of the Christians there; for in all Assemblies, of great Churches especially, many are alwayes absent. He had dealt more fairly with Theodoret, if by all he would have understood the generality of Christians adhering to Alexander at C. P. or the greatest part of them, and about

about such an abatement of the full import of the word, there had been no need to contend ; but his restraint of it to a particular Congregation agrees not with the words, nor the occasion of them, nor hath any support elsewhere.

Nor is that better which follows, *unless you will say that with all the Brethren, does not signifie their personal presence, but only their unanimity.*

This looks more like a shift than a plain answer, and therefore he was well advised in not venturing to own it.

Theodoret could not think that all the Beleivers of C. P. could come together to the Bishop's Church, for he cites a Letter of *Constantine's* a little after, where he gives an account of the great increase of that Church. *In the City that is call'd by my name by the Providence of God, an infinite multitude of People have joined themselves to the Church, and all things there wonderfully increasing, it seems very requisite that more Churches should be built ; understanding therefore hereby what I have resolved to do, I thought fit to order you to provide 50 Bibles fairly and legibly written.*

He does not say an *infinite multitude*, the words of the Letter are μέγιστον πλῆθος, that there was a *very great multitude of Christians* is not denied, nor that he intended to *build more Churches* ; but this confirms what is signified before, that these *very many Churches* were not yet built, but only in design, and that with a prospect of Christians there still increasing. And the *Bibles*, if they were intended only for C. P. might be for the future Churches, not the present only.

His Conclusion is, ' where Christians were so multiplied that it was necessary to build more Churches, and to make such provisions for the multitude of their Assemblies, it could not be that they should all make but one Congregation. He

He should have concluded that which is denied, otherwise all he hath premised will be insignificant, and to no purpose: it is granted that all the Christians at C.P. did make more than *one Congregation*, and for their conveniency met at other times in several Churches. That which is denied is, that the main Body or generality of Christians there could not meet in one Assembly, or did not so meet at this time with their Bishop *Alexander*, as to this he hath proved nothing, and therefore did well to conclude nothing against that which is affirmed to be the plain import of *Theodoret's* expression.

And it may be supposed that *Theodoret*, if he had not expressed it, *might well think* (though the contrary be suggested) that as great multitudes, as *Constantine's* Letters signified, might meet together at the Bishop's Church; for himself declares what a vast Congregation he preached to at *Antioch*, having an Auditory of many *Myriads* f. I will not ask him what *Eusebius* could think, f Ep. 83. when he tells us the Christians had μυριάσδους ἐπισυναγωγὰς, *Assemblies consisting of Myriads* g. Nor what *Socrates* g Lib. 8. Cap. 12 thought, when he tells us long after, of C. P. that the whole City became one Assembly, and meeting in an Oration, continued there all day h, "Ὁλη πόλις μία ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο h Lib. 7. cap. 23. ἐν ᾗ τὰς εὐκτησίῳ γινόμενοι, &c. But I would have him tell me how he understands that passage of *Chrysostome*, καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ Θεὸν χαρὰν εἰς δέκα μυριάδων ἀριθμὸν οἶμαι τὰς ἐν ταῦτα συναγομένους τελεῖν i. What is the import of these words? Do they i Hom. 85. in Nat. Tom. 2. p. 529. signify that *ten Myriads* were assembled in one place to hear *Chrysostome*? If so, there will be no question but that the generality of Christians might meet in one Church with *Alexander* in *Constantine's* Reign; for that then, (about 70 years before) there was any thing near so many Christians as an 100000; adhering to one Bishop in this City, cannot with any reason be imagin-

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- ed.

ed. Or does he mean only, that there were so many *Myriads* of Christians contained in that City? If so, then he saies here no more than in another *Homily* fore-cited, where the number of Christians in C. P. is computed to be an 100000, reckoning *all besides Jews and Heathens*. Now if they were no more in his time, they cannot with reason be supposed to have been above half so many in *Constantine's* (unless any can imagine, that their numbers advanced more in 6 years than in 70, when the succeeding Emperours multiplyed the Inhabitants excessively, *ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν*, as *Zosimus* tells us *k*, crouding the City so full as that they could scarce stir without danger :) and a great part of these were fallen off to *Arius* while *Alexander* was Bishop : the *Novatians* also, were numerous, having several Churches ; and these with other Sects being deducted, the Christians there that communicated with *Alexander* will be no more (if so many) than belong to some one of our Parishes.

k Lib. 2.

‘ It would swell this Preface to too great a Bulk, if I should answer the rest so particularly.

Since he designed to be so breif, and to have so short a Preface, I wish he had employed more of it against that which is the strength of the Discourse he opposes, and of more consequence to the main Cause ; and not have spent so many leaves upon a by-passage, for which we have little reason to be concerned : for if he could make it appear, that the Christians at C. P. in *Constantine's* time were more than could meet in one Congregation, yea, or in two either ; that would be far from proving it a *Diocesan Church*, unless some one or two of our Parishes can be counted so.

Let me add in fine, that our *Author* has done just nothing towards the disproving of what *Theodoret* was alledged for ; unless he shew, that C. P. exceeded *old Rome*,

Rome, was furnished with such an infinite number of Christians, so many (more than two) magnificent Churches there erected, the 50 Bibles thought needful to be provided, and almost all the *Heathen* besides many *Jews* converted; before *Alexander* (who is said to hold this Assembly *with all the brethren*) deceased; and so unless he prove that all this was done (which himself I think can scarce believe) in less than a year. For *Valesius* (upon whose authority this *Gentleman* takes much) proves at large (making it the business of one of his *Books*) that *Alexander* died (and yet must live some while after this *panegyric* Assembly) in the year 331. L. 2. observ. in Soc. & Soz. And its manifest, that C. P. was not built, nor had that name till 331. For tho' it was building the year before, yet it was not finished till 25 of *Constantine's* Reign (as *Ferome* and others:) and the beginning of his Reign is Chronic. reckoned from the death of *Constantius* his Father, who was Consul with *Maximianus* in the year 306, and Fast Consul. died in the middle of it. There needs not a word more to shew that all his discourse on this subject is wholly insignificant, and not at all for his purpose, tho' this be the most considerable part of his Preface.

‘ This Author gives several instances of several Bishops
 ‘ being in one City at the same time, in answer to the
 ‘ *Dean of Paul's*, who affirmed that it was an inviolable
 ‘ rule of the Church to have but one, &c. *Jerusalem* is
 ‘ the first instance, &c. I wonder to find a man of Learn-
 ‘ ing cite this passage, than which nothing can be more
 ‘ disadvantageous to his Cause.

There is one who I suppose passes for a *man of learn-
 ing* who for the same purpose makes use of this instance,
 since mine was published; *We have*, saith he, *Examples
 in Ecclesiastical story of two Bishop's at the same time in
 the same See, and yet this was never thought Schismatical,
 when the second was advanced by the consent of the first.*

I Defence of Dr.
St. p. 178.

Thus Alexander a Bishop in Cappadocia was made Bishop of Jerusalem while Narcissus was living, but very old: and Anatolius at the same time, sate in the Church of Cæsarea with Theotecnus, and this was St. Austin's own case, who was made Bishop of Hippo while there was another Bishop living l. He sayes also, Nothing can be more disadvantageous to my cause than this passage. If it had been no advantage to my cause, I should have thought it bad enough; but if nothing could be more disadvantageous, I am very unhappy: let us see how it is made good.

Narcissus having retired, and the people not knowing what had become of him, the neighbouring Bishops ordained *Dius* in his place, who was succeeded by *Gordius* and after by *Germanico*, (it should be by *Germanico*, and after by *Gordius*) in whose time *Narcissus* returned, and was desired to resume his Office, and did so. What became of *Germanico* (he means *Gordius*,) is not said but probably he resigned or died presently.

There is nothing to make either of these probable, it is altogether as likely, if not more, that he continued Bishop there with *Narcissus* for some time; but because *Eusebius* sayes nothing of it, I insist not on it. But besides he tells us, *Narcissus* took Alexander, into the participation of the charge. That signifies *Narcissus* was not excluded from the Episcopal charge, both had their parts therein. No, but sayes he, Alexander was the Bishop, *Narcissus* retained but the name and title only, that is, he was but a Titular, not really a Bishop, and why so? because Alexander, sayes he, joined with him in prayers, and the Historian sayes he was not able to officiate by reason of his great age. He was not able it may be to perform all the Offices of a Bishop, but what he was able to do no doubt he performed. Now if they must be but titular Bishops, who perform not personally all the Offices

fices of a Pastoral charge (when they cannot pretend *ἀπαρδὸν ἡγεῖς*) how many *real* Bishops shall we find in the World ? But besides the *Name and Title*, did he not retain the Power and Authority of a Bishop ? If not, how came he to loose it ? Did he *resign*, or was he *deposed* ? That he resigned there is not the least intimation in this *Historian* or any other ; nor any instance in the antient Church, that ever any Bishop divested himself of all pastoral *Power* upon this account. To have deposed him for his great age had been a barbarous Act, and such as the Church in those times cannot be charged with. No doubt but he retained the Episcopal power, though through Age he could not exercise it in all instances ; and if he had not only the *Title* but the *Power*, he was really a Bishop, and there were two Bishops at once in one Church, and then this instance is so far from being *most disadvantageous*, that it serves me with all the advantage I designed in alledging it.

As for the words of *Valesius* cited by him, if they be taken in the sense which our *Author* would have them, that *learned man* will not agree with himself. For but a very few lines before, he says, these two were *Co-Episcopi*, *Bishops together* in that City, *superstite episcopo adjutor & coepiscopus est adjunctus*, And tho' he says (but says it doubtfully with a *ni fallor*) this was forbidden at *Sardica* (above 100 years after) ; yet he adds that, *notwithstanding it was still usual in the Church, nihilominus identidem in ecclesia usurpatum est*, which is all that I need desire. And afterwards, where *Eusebius* in l. 7. c. 32. again mentions two Bishops in one City, he observes, that in one of his Copies, the *Scholiast* has this note upon it in the Margin, *ἡ ἐν ταύτῃ πόλει ἐμοχρονῆς δύο πρεσβυτέρων*, here also there were two Bishops of one Church. *Valesius* adds, the *Scholiast* understands Alexander, who was Bishop of Jerusalem together with Narcissus.

The next instance is of *Theotecnus* and *Anatolius* who were Bishops of *Cæsarea* together. Against this he hath little to say, I suppose because nothing can be said against it in reason. Only he seems willing that *Anatolius* should pass but as *Episcopus designatus*, whereby if he mean one, who is not yet actually a Bishop, but designed to be one hereafter, as *Eradius* was by *Augustine*, it is inconsistent with what *Eusebius* says and himself quotes, but one line before, viz. that *Theotecnus* ordained him Bishop in his life-time; for if he was not actually Bishop after he was thus ordained, he was never Bishop at all *m.*

*m Euseb. l. 7.
c. 32.*

Another instance was of *Macarius* and *Maximus* both Bishops at once of *Jerusalem*.

He would not have *Maximus* to be Bishop while *Macarius* lived, because it is said he was to rule the Church after his Death.

n Soc. l. 2. c. 19.

But *Maximus* was to govern the Church not only after his death, if he survived him (as he was like to do being much younger) but while he lived; and so did actually together with him, *συνεπαΐδαι*, which denotes the exercise of the same Function together *n*: besides the *Historian* says, *Maximus* was before this ordained Bishop of *Diospolis*, and if he had officiated at *Jerusalem*, where they were so desirous of him, in a lower Capacity; their kindness to him had been a degrading him; which it cannot be supposed they would either offer, or he yield to.

I alledged *Epiphanius*, who signifies that other Cities had two Bishops together, and excepts only *Alexandria*. To which he answers, that *Epiphanius* cannot mean that all other Cities had two Bishops at a time, nor did I say that he meant this, but his expression imports no less than that it was usual for other Cities to have two Bishops. Nor is there any reason to think that *Epiphanius* respects only the

the cases alledged ; it was quite another case that was the occasion of his words ; and diverse other instances might be brought of a different nature and occasion, though this be sufficient to shew, that the rule against two Bishops in one City was not *inviolable* : He adds, ‘ I do not see what advantage can be made of this passage.

This *passage* shews that there was commonly two Bishops in a City at once, *Alexandria* is only excepted as varying herein from other Cities. And this is advantage enough for me, and it is enough against him too ; and leaves no reason for his pretence that it was only in extraordinary cases. I affirmed it could not be Epiphanius his meaning (as a great Antiquary would have it) that *Alexandria* was never so divided, as that several parties in it should have their respective Bishops there, and brought several Instances to evince it : for so it was divided in the time of Epiphanius, when the Catholics had Athanasius, the Arians had Gregorius, and then Georgius ; and afterwards the one had Peter the other Lucius, and the Novatians had their Bishops successively in that City till Cyril's time.

‘ He answers however I do not see why that learned Antiquarie's opinion may not be maintained against this Gentleman's objections, he says that *Alexandria* was divided before Epiphanius his time between several Bishops (I said in Epiphanius's time) it cannot be denied. But that is not the thing Epiphanius speaks of, but that before the Election of Theonas against Athanasius, there were never two opposite Bishops as in other Churches.

But this doth neither agree with the one nor defend the other ; it agrees not with Epiphanius, but makes him contradict himself, for he tells us there were two opposite Bishops at *Alexandria* before Theonas was chosen.

o Her. 69. Num.
8. p. 733.
p Vita Const.
l. 3. cap. 4.

sen. For this was not till *Alexander's* death, but he sayes *Pistus* was made Bishop there by the *Arians* while *Alexander* was living o. And he could not be ignorant of what *Eusebius* declares p, that upon the division in *Egypt* occasioned by *Arius*, in every City, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ πόλει, there was Bishop against Bishop, and People against People. Nor doth it defend the *Antiquary*, for he speaks universally without limiting himself to the Election of *Theonas*, *Ecclesiam Alexandrinam nunquam in partes scissam quarum singulae Episcopum suum habebant*, that Church was never divided so as to have opposite Bishops.

‘ The instances are all later than this Fact, and therefore are insignificant, sayes he.

They are fully significant, both in reference to the *Antiquary* against whom they are brought to prove that he mistook *Epiphanius*, when he would have it to be his meaning, that *Alexandria* was never so divided as to have two opposite Bishops; for they shew it was often so divided: and also in reference to *Epiphanius*, they were so late as his time on purpose, to shew more unquestionably, that could not be his meaning, which was against his knowledge, and notorious instances in his own time.

But he will not deny the instance of the *Novatians* to be significant, only *Socrates* does not say that they had their Bishops successively to *Cyril's* time.

Nor do I say he does; but he sayes *Cyrill* shut up the *Novatian Churches* there, and took away all the sacred treasure in them, and deprived their Bishop *Theopompus* of all he had. Now when our Author meets with Churches, and a Bishop over them; he is not wont to question a Succession, unless it appears he was the first.

‘ It may be they began there after this time, for there is little Account in Church-History, that I know, of any *Novatians* in *Alexandria* before *Athanasius*,

We

We are little concerned about this, yet it may be they began before this time, for *there is no account at all in Church History, that the Novatians began there in, or after Athanasius his time.*

I had produced evidence that many *African Bishops* declared, in the case of *Valerius* and *Austin*, that it was *usual* in all parts, to have two Bishops in a City at once; to this he answers, 'but suppose all this true, that this 'might be maintained by the Examples of several 'Churches, what is it that two Bishops may be in one 'Church? no, that is not the matter, but that a Bishop 'when he growes old, may appoint or ordain his Successour, to prevent the mischiefs, that are usually produced 'by popular Elections.

If what the *African Bishops* did alledge, were restrained to that particular case he contends for; yet this is enough to make good all I intend, viz. that *usually* in the antient Church, there were two Bishops together in one place. For when one is ordained Bishop in the same place, when another is still living; with whatever design, upon what occasion soever this is done, yet there are two Bishops at once in the same place.

I see no reason why this should be restrained to that particular case, the occasion of what the Bishops affirm may clear it, and that was *Austin's* scruple, not to succeed *Valerius*, but to be made Bishop of *Hippo*, while his Bishop there was living, *Episcopatum suscipere, suo vivente Episcopo, recusabat*, for so there would be two together, which he took to be against the Custom of the Church, *contra morem Ecclesiæ*; but they all perswade him that this was usually done, *id fieri solere*, and prove it by examples in all parts *q*. And *Valerius* his desire and proposal was, that *Austin* might be ordained Bishop of *Hippo*, *Qui suæ Cathedræ non tam succederet sed Consecrator accederet*, not as one that was to succeed him only, but to be Bishop together with him. E When

*q Possidon. vita
August. cap. 8.*

Ibid.

When he assigns this as the reason of appointing a Successour, to *prevent the mischiefs that are usually produced by popular elections*, he speaks his own sence, not theirs; for they were better advised than to brand the general practice of the ancient Church as *mischievous*, and how this suggestion becomes one, who undertakes to write a *vindication of the Primitive Church*, let himself consider. Others may judge it, a more intollerable reflection upon the universal Church in the best and after times, than any *M. B.* can be justly charged with. However the reason assigned for it by *Possidonius* is another thing than appears in this Authors whole account, it was because *Valerius* feared lest some other Church, should seek him for their Bishop, and get a person so approved, from him.

Whereas in fine he sayes, ‘ These Cases specified ‘ were not thought to violate the Rule that allowed but ‘ one Bishop to a City. Yet it was thought so by St. *Austin*, when he excuses his suffering himself to be made Bishop with *Valerius*, by this, that he knew not it was forbidden by a rule of the *Nicene Council*, *Quod Concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam*, and gives this as the reason why he would not so ordain *Eradius*.

Next he would prove, that this provision for a Successour does not destroy that Rule, by an instance, I need not transcribe it at large, the sum of it is this, when the Government is *Monarchical*, if it fall out once (in many Ages, as it did in England once in above 500 years) that another King be crowned, besides him who hath the Throne; yet it will be true enough, that it is the rule of those Kingdoms to have but one King. To which I say briefly, if it be usual to have two Kings in such a Government, it will scarce be thought true, that it is the inviolable Rule of those Kingdoms, to have but one King. And then how this instance will fute his purpose,

pose let those judge who take notice, that, I have already proved it *usual* in the antient Church for Cities in all parts to have *two Bishops at once*.

From *pag. 12.* he passes to *pag. 23.* To shew there were more Bishopricks than one in the Region or Diocess of *Hippo* I brought several instances; and might have produced more, but that I confined my self to those which the learned *Dean* alledged to the contrary. *Fussala* is one of them, and that alone this *Gentleman* takes notice of. *St. Austin* calls it *Castellum* diverse times in one Epistle. He finds fault that I translate *Castellum* a *Castle*. I did no more expect to be blamed for this, than if I had render'd *Oppidum* a *Town*. But I suppose he counts it no great crime, since he runs into it himself and in a few lines after calls it a *Castle*.

‘But these Castles, sayes he, were Garrison Towns, with a good dependance of Villages belonging to them.

They were Fortresses, and sometimes had Villages depending on them, and might contain so many buildings as there are in some Village or little Town; however he calls them *Castles*, and may give me leave to do so too.

He adds, “It was 40 miles distant from *Hippo*, and was in *St. Austine’s* Diocess, and never had a Bishop of its own.

It is said indeed to belong to the *Diocess* of *Hippo*, but I do not find it said to be in *St. Austine’s* *Diocess* or Bishoprick; these are two things and should not be confounded. When it is said to *belong to the Diocess* of *Hippo*, so farr distant, *Diocess* is not taken as an *Ecclesiastical sense* as it is with us, for part of a Countrey under the Government of *one* Bishop; but as it was used in *Africa* in a *civil* sense, for part of a Province, without respect to *one* Bishop, or to *any one* Bishop at all. Some

r Con. Carth. 2.
Can. 5. Code Af-
fric. 53.

{ Coll. Carth. D. I
Num. 117.

parts there call'd *Diocesses* had no Bishops, nor were to have any by Decrees of the *African Councils* r. Other places called a *Diocess* had more Bishops than one. *Petilian* sayes, that in the place where his Colleague *Januarius* was Bishop there were 4 Bishops besides, all five in *unâ Diœcesi* s. And thus it was in many other places, particularly in that called the *Diocess* of Hippo, as I shew'd by diverse instances, and St. *Austin's* own Testimony.

Hereby it appears that in *Africa*, a *Diocess* and a *Bishoprick* were not the same thing, though they be with us. There were diverse *Diocesses* and no *Bishopricks* and many *Bishopricks* where but one *Diocess*; so that *Fussala* and 20 other Castles and Towns might be in the *Diocess* of Hippo, at 40 miles distance or more; and yet St. *Austin's* *Bishoprick*, not one jot the larger for it, nor he more a *Diocesan*.

Whereas he adds, *that it never had a Bishop of its own*. It is unquestionable that *Fussala* had a Bishop of its own in *Austin's* time; and this renders it wholly unserviceable to their purpose; for the *Bishoprick* of Hippo, said to be of 40 miles extent, will not upon the count of *Fussala* be 40 yards larger. Nor will either of these Bishops, nor any other in that Region be *Diocesans*; unless there can be two *Diocesans*, and I know not how many more, in one *Diocess*.

I assigned this reason, why *Fussala* had not a Bishop sooner, because *Austin* declares, *there was not one Catholic in it*, and supposed this might serve the turn, not dreaming that those who count all the people in a very large Parish, or in an 100 Parishes little enough for a *Diocesan*; could think his *Diocess* competently furnished when he had not one Soul (or but some few) in communion with him.

He sayes, *the Town or Castle indeed had none, but the County belonging to it had some*; he will have the Territory

tory or Parish depending on this *Castle* to be a *County*. I cannot but observe the admirable power of a fancy tinctured and prepossessed. It will turn a *Parish* into a *County*, and a *Castle* into a *County Town*; and since a *County* with us, was a *Province* with them, one *Province* must be as much as all *Africa*; and a very small part of *Numidia*, must be far greater than the whole. But there are some *Hypotheses*, which may stand in need of such imaginations.

However he likes not my reason, and why? because, *though it had no Catholicks in it then, it might have some before* and concludes it had, *because it belonged heretofore to the Diocess of Hippo*.

“ But that it formerly had Catholicks, (saies he) we
“ may conclude by Mr. *Baxter's* reasoning, because it
“ belonged heretofore to the Diocess of *Hippo*.

If *Diocess* be taken in a *civil* sense (as it is frequently in *African* Authors) this will be no proof, that *there had been any Catholicks in it*, because in this sense *Fussala* might belong to that Diocess, though there had not been either Christian or Bishop in the whole Region: Nor will it be hereby proved, taking it in the Ecclesiastical sense; for that part of *Hippo*, which was under the *Donatist* Bishop, had no Catholick; and yet *de jure*, as he tells us, belonged to the Diocess, (as he calls it,) or charge of St. *Austin*. Yet since he allows Mr. *Baxter's* Argument, he must admit what it concludes, *viz.* that a place that hath no Christians or Catholicks in it, belongs to no Bishop; and then *Fussala* never belonged to St. *Austin* as its Bishop; either *before* it had Catholicks, for against this the Argument is admitted to be conclusive: not *after*, for then it had a Bishop of its own. And so all they have to alledge for the largeness of St. *Austin's* Bishoprick comes to nothing.

“So that I conceive the reason will not hold, for its
 “having no Bishop of its own, since the same reason
 “destroys its dependance upon the the Diocess of *Hippo*,
 “which is expressly affirmed.

The reason I gave for its having no Bishop, was, because St. *Austin* declares *there was no Catholick in it*. This reason will *hold*, unless they think a place may have a Bishop where there are no Christians at all ; when as yet they judge, that a place which hath Christians enough to make a *good Congregation*, or *many*, ought not to have a Bishop. Whereas he sayes this reason *destroys its dependance upon the Diocess*, I wonder what *dependance* he imagines, since it is such, as both the *not having* of Christians, and also the *having of them*, destroys it. The former he here affirms, *the same reason* (which is its not having of Catholicks) *destroys it* ; the latter is undeniable, for when *Fussala* had a competent number of Catholicks, a Bishop was there constituted ; and then it depended no more on the *Diocess* of *Hippo*, than one Bishop's Church depends on another, when both are independent.

The dependance of *Fussala* upon *Hippo* was such, as that of a Countrey place upon a greater Town well furnished with Officers for their help, to convert and reduce the Inhabitants, and when enough are converted to help them to a Bishop or Pastor. This St. *Austin* did for *Fussala*, he imployed Presbyters to reduce the Donatists there, and when they were reduced, he adds them not to his own charge, would not have them *Episcopo cedere* ; but advises them to have a Bishop of their own, and procures one for them. This was the practice of the primitive times, in these methods were Churches and Bishops multiplied ; it was not out of use in the *fifth Age*, this of *Fussala* as managed by St. *Austin* is a remarkable instance thereof ; as if other Bishops had imitated

imitated him, as he did the Apostles, and best Ages, the Church would not have been troubled with debates about *Diocesans*.

That *Austin* would not take the Charge of a Place so far off as *Fussala*, he will have it ascribed to his *Modesty*. But it was such *Modesty* as this excellent Person made Conscience of, being convinced *certissimâ ratione*, by most certain reason, that he was not sufficient for it. If all other Bishops had been so modest, so conscientious, there might have been, as *Nazianzen* speaks, when Bishops were multiplied in *Cappadocia*, *Ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλεια πλείων*, a much more desirable thing, to those that love Souls, than a great Diocess.

He gives a reason why this must be ascribed to St. *Austin's* modesty, because he discharged the Office of a Bishop there, in more difficult times, while the Presbyters he employed there, were barbarously used.

I need not deny that he performed the Office of a Bishop there; for it is the office of a Bishop to endeavour by himself or others, the converting or reducing of all that he can. Only this will not prove *Fussala* to be then a part of his Bishoprick, no more than it will prove *Athanasius* to have been Bishop of *India*; because he encouraged, and sent *Frumentius* with others thither, to convert the *Indians* &c.

The learned *Dean* had cited *Austin* as calling himself the Bishop of that *Diocess* (understanding by it a Region of vast extent) I observed that in the Epistle quoted he only saith he had the *Episcopal charge* of *Hippo*. By this the Gentleman changing my words, will have me to signifie, that he was the Bishop of the *Town only*. This I did not intend, but that, he was not the only Bishop of that whole Region. But whether he was Bishop of part of the *Town only*, or of that and some part of the Region also, I am not much concerned. His words are

as

t Soc. l. i. c. 15.

Soc. l. 2. c. 23.

“ as if he had been Bishop of the Town only, nay, but
 “ of part of that neither, for the *Donatists* had their
 “ Bishop there : so this will strangely diminish the Bi-
 “ shoprick of St. *Austin* which at first appeared so large.
 Then he answers, for the *Donatists* having a Bishop
 there, it signifies little to our present purpose, since he was
 but an *Usurper*.

But this signifies as much to my purpose as I need ; for
 the *Donatists* having a Bishoprick in *Hippo*, St. *Austin's*
 must needs be diminished thereby, and altogether as
 much lessened, as if they had not been *Usurpers*. And
 they were counted no otherwise *Usurpers*, but so that if
 the *Donatist* Bishop had been reconciled ; by a Decree
 of the *African* Church he was to continue in his Bishop-
 there, as a *rightful Possessor*, and there would have
 been still two *Diocesses* (such as they were) in one
 Town.

He would have us believe *Austin* as if he declared,
 that he was not the Bishop of the Town only ; but his
 words are, *Ut modum dispensationis meæ non supergrediar*
hoc Ecclesiæ ad Hipponensem Regionem pertinenti prodesse
contestor, which, sayes our Author, plainly signifies,
 that all the Church belonging, not only to the Town, but
 but also to the Region of *Hippo*, belonged to him.

But if he please to view the words again which him-
 self hath quoted, he will find it plainly signified, that
Austin's Church belonged to the Region of *Hippo*, but not
 that all the Church both in Town and Region, belonged to
 him. *Antonius* Bishop of *Fussala* might have said this
 as truly of his Church there, as *Austin* did it of his Church
 at *Hippo* ; it did *ad Hipponensem Regionem pertinere*, be-
 long to the Region of *Hippo*. And it may be as justly in-
 ferred from hence, that all the Church both in the Town
 and Region of *Hippo* belonged to the Bishop of *Fussala*.
 If our Author will allow of this (as he must if he will
 stand

stand to his own account of this passage) *Austin's* Bishoprick will be *strangely diminished* indeed, it must be confined to a part of *Hippo*, and made less than I represent it. For I did not say, nor had I any need to assert, that he was Bishop of the Town only. We may allow him besides his part of the Town, diverse Villages in the Countrey (though I have not seen it proved) without any danger of assigning him a *Diocesan* Church. For *Kidderminster* (as one tells us, who very well knows it) hath 20 Villages belonging to it, and some thousands of Souls therein, yet according to our modern measures will scarce make a *Diocesan* Church u.

u M. B. of E-
piscopacy, Part
2. p. 9.

To shew that there were *more Bishops in the Region of Hippo*, than *St. Austin*, besides particular instances (which he passes by) I alledged a passage of his where the *Donatists* were desired to *meet together with the Catholick Bishops, that were in that Region, and who there suffered so much by the Donatists*: to this he answers, "That these Bishops who are said to be in *Regione Hipponensi*, were not the Bishops of that *Region*, but "some Bishops of the *Province* met together there.

But that these were Bishops of the *Province* met together there, is a meer conjecture of his own, without the least ground either in this passage or any other in that *Epistle*. It will not be hard to answer any thing at this rate. If there had been a *Provincial* Council then held in that *Region*, there might have been some pretence for what he says; but there is not any hint of this in the whole *Epistle*. That which is desired is a *Meeting for conference*, *Hoc est ergo desiderium nostrum, &c. Primum si fieri potest ut cum Episcopis nostris pacifice conferatis*——, *ideo nos conferre volumus*——, and the prime occasion of it was the outrages committed in that *Region* by the *Donatists*, wherein the Bishops of that place were particularly concerned. This is signi-
F fied,

fyed, as in other parts of the Epistle, so particularly in the passage cited, *Episcopos nostros qui sunt in Regione Hipponensi, ubi tanta mala patimur*. This Meeting was to be with the *Catholick* Bishops upon the place, in *Regione Hipponensi*, not any to be call'd from other parts. And these words seem brought in to prevent an objection which the *Donatists* might make against a more general, or more publick meeting, as that which might bring them in danger of the Laws in force against them; *An forte istæ leges Imperatoris vos non permittunt nostros Episcopos convenire*, and then immediately follows these words in answer to it, *Ecce interim Episcopos nostros qui sunt in Regione Hipponensi, &c.* so that this to me seems the plain sence of both Objection and answer; If because of the Laws you dare not meet us in a more General or Provincial Council, yet give a Meeting to the Bishops of this particular Region, where there can be no apprehension of danger. All which makes me judge, what he sayes concerning the *Bishops of the Province* as here intended, to be no better than an Evasion.

To prove that there was but one Bishop in the Region of *Hippo*, he tells us, " That the Clergy there called in the Inscription of an Epistle, *Clerici Regionis Hipponensium*, speaking of the Bishop of *Hippo*, do call him their Bishop, and not one of their Bishops, &c.

But the Clergy so called, may be only the Clergy of *Hippo*, and so they are in the Title of the Epistle *Clerici Hippone Catholici*: and well may they of *Hippo* be called the Clergy of the *Region*, both because they were in that Region, and were the Clergy of it *καὶ ἐξ ὧν*. But if the expression should be extended to *more* or to *all* in the Region, their calling him *Episcopus noster*, will be no proof that they had no other Bishop, but him at *Hippo*. For that phrase

phrase *Episcopus noster* or *Episcopi nostri*, all along in this Epistle, doth not denote the Bishop of that *particular Church* to which they belonged (as he would have it) but a Bishop of their *party* or *persuasion*. So they call *Valentinus nostrum Catholicum Episcopum*, who yet was not Bishop of *Hippo*. So they call them *Episcopos nostros*, whom they desired the Donatists to meet once and again *w*, and thrice in another page, where our *Author* *w pag. 373:* finds *Episcopos nostros* *x*. He may have many more in- *x pag. 371:* stances hereof in that Epistle. If there was so many Bishops in *Hippo* or in that Region, as the Clergy call *Episcopos nostros*, he must grant many more Bishops in that Region than I need desire. So that this *Phrase* however it be understood, is a *medium* unhappily chosen: if it be taken in *my sense* it is impertinent and can conclude nothing for him; if it be taken in his *own sense*, it will conclude directly against him.

He passes to *Alexandria*, and to *pag. 32*. The instance of *Mareotis* he says little to, so our Author, I might think it enough, where there was so little occasion.

“He insinuates as if *Mareotis* might not have number
“ enough of Christians to have a Bishop, but this *Atha-*
“ *nasius* does sufficiently shew to be a groundless con-
“ jecture.

I had no intention or occasion to signify that *Mareotis* had not Christians enough to have a Bishop, I knew that it both had many Christians, and a Bishop also, and named him too; and therefore the *groundless conjecture* may be fixed somewhere else.

“And even before *Athanasius*, the generality of the
“ People there were Christians.

How long before? *Dionysius* in the latter part of the third Age declares it *ἔρημον τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, quite *desitute of Christians* *y*, and the gaining the generality there, to *y Euseb. l. 7. c. 11.* the Faith, required some considerable time, and it is

like proceeded not far, till Christianity generally prevailed.

Besides *Ischyra*, I had mentioned *Dracontius*, both Bishops in the Territory of *Alexandria* (as *Agathammon* also was z) of *Dracontius* he takes notice, and says, possibly he was a *Chorepiscopus*.

z *Apol.* 2. p. 612.

a pag. 590.

But a *Chorepiscopus* is elsewhere with him a *Diocesan* a, and here he says that he did accept a *Bishoprick*. Now these put together will go near to make a *Diocesan* Bishop. But then if there were two or three Bishops in the Diocese of *Alexandria*, besides *Athanasius*; they will scarce be so much as half *Diocesans*.

He says *Athanasius* press'd him to accept it. If so this great Person was no more unwilling to have another Bishop in his Diocese, and in a Countrey place too, than *Austin* was to have one at *Fussala*. He says further this was an extraordinary case, though what was extraordinary in it I cannot imagine; to prove any thing there mentioned to be so, will be an hard task.

“And allowing this man a Countrey Bishoprick,
“that of *Alexandria* would be a great deal too bigg for
“the Congregational measure.

And so it might be, and yet be no *Diocesan* Church; if that will satisfy him which is too big for those measures, he seems content to drop his cause, and may leave it in the hands of *Presbyterians*. And he is in the more danger, because he seems not apprehensive of it, but counts it enough if he thinks a Church is any where found larger than one Congregation.

I had given instances of several Towns that had Bishops, and were but two or three or four &c. miles distant one from another this he denies not: but asks what does this conclude? might not those Diocesses be yet much larger than one Congregation?

I might conclude that these were just such *Diocesses* as our Countrey Parishes are ; and had such Congregations as those Parish Churches have. And some of them in time might have provision (as some of ours have) for more Congregations than one. And if our *modern Diocesses* were of this proportion, they would be much more conformable to the *antient* Modells.

“ Suppose the chief Congregations of *Holland* had each a Bishop, yet I conceive they would be *Dioce-*
“ fans, though those Cities lie very close together.

He might have laid the *scene* at home, where we are better acquainted, and supposed this of our Countrey Towns ; or of both the *chief*, and *lesser* Towns in *Holland* ; if he had designed what would be most parallel. But to take it as it is formed, though those Cities lay not further distant, and had each of them a Bishop, yet if their Churches were governed in common by Bishop and Presbyters, as the *antient* Churches were ; they would not be *Diocesan*, but more like the Model of the Churches and Government which *Holland* hath at present.

“ And now after all this, though we have several instances out of *Egypt*, how near Cities were together in some parts ; yet upon the whole account the *Dio-*
“ cesses do appear to be large enough, from the number of them.

He would have us think where Cities are *so near together* (as I had shewed) yet because of *their number* the *Diocesses* might be large enough. But where they were so near together, they could not be large enough to make any thing like the modern *Diocesses*, no, nor larger than our Countrey Parishes if they had Bishops in them. And the Ancients thought themselves obliged by the *Apostle's* rule to have a Bishop, not only in some but in every City, *ἐπισκόπων ἔδει πολλῶν*, sayes *Chrysostome*,

b In 1 Tim.
Hom. II.

Stome, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ὁρμηγυησμένων b, and *Theophilact* expresses κατὰ πόλιν by καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν, without exception of the smallness of the place or its nearness to others. The reason diverse Cities had none, was the want, or the inconsiderable number of Christians in them. Nothing but this hindered any City from having a Bishop in the four first Ages; though the greatest part of their Cities (as may be made manifest) were no greater than our Market-Towns or fairer Villages. And upon this account many Cities might want Bishops, and it may be did so, in *Egypt* particularly; *Heathenisme* prevailing in many places there, even in *Athanasius* his time; for which I could produce sufficient evidence; but will not now digress so far. Afterwards the affectation of greatness in *some*, was the occasion of new measures; and orders were made that Towns which had no Bishops before should have none after: though the reason why they had none before was gone; and those places had as many or more Christians in them, than most Episcopal Cities had of old.

c *Athan. Apol. 2.* “ For in *Athanasius* his time there were not an hundred Bishops in all *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* c.

I was a little surprized to read this, and see *Athanasius* cited for it. For I knew that *Athanasius* reckons 95 Bishops from *Egypt* besides himself, at the Council of *Sardica*; and others from *Africa*, wherein *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* are usually included; and it was never known that a major part or a third of the Bishops in a Countrey, did come to a Council at such a distance as *Egypt* was from *Sardica*. It is scarce credible that *Athanasius* would so far contradict himself, as to say there were not so many Bishops in all those three Countreys, when he had signified there were many more in one of them. Some mistake I thought there must be, and consulting the place I found it not intirely represented.

There

There is this Clause (immediately following the words he cites) left out, *ἐδείς τούτων ἡμᾶς ἠπείτο*, none of these accused me, whereby it appears that the meaning of the whole passage is this, *there was an hundred Bishops in the Diocess of Egypt who appeared not against him, or that favoured him.* But those who favoured *Arius* (whom he calls *Eusebians*) and *Meletius*, to say nothing of *Coluthus* (for into so many parties was that Countrey then divided) are not taken into the reckoning; otherwise it would have amounted to many more than an hundred. *Sozomen* sayes the Bishops there, who took *Arius* his part were many, *πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων δ*, and in *Athanasius* d Lib. i. c. 14. there is an account of many *Meletian* Bishops by name *e*; and in *Epiphanius* it is said, that in every Re- e Apol. 2. p. 614. gion through which *Meletius* passed, and in every place where he came he made Bishops *f*. f Ep. Her. 68.

The next thing he takes notice of is the defence of Mr. Baxter's Allegation out of *Athanasius*, to shew, that all the Christians of Alexandria (M. B's words are, the main body of the Christians in Alexandria) could meet in one Church.

"It is to be confessed that the expressions of that Father seem to favour him, *καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν* and that the Church did *πάντας δεξάμενοι* hold all, &c.

I am made more confident by all that is said to the contrary, that the evidence is really such, as will need no favour, if it can meet with Justice.

"Now suppose that all the Christians in Alexandria, the Catholicks at leastwise, could meet together in that great Church, yet all the Diocess could not.

All that was undertaken to be proved by the passage in question, was, that the main body of Christians in Alexandria adhering to *Athanasius* could, and did meet in that one Church. If this be granted nothing is denied that he intended to prove. As for a Diocess in the Countrey,

Countrey, if he will shew us what, or where it was, and that it *had no other Bishop in it*, he will do something that may be considered ; yet nothing at all against what this Testimony was made use of to evince.

He sayes 2dly, "Suppose this great great Church
"could receive all the multitude, yet if that multitude
"was too great for Personal Communion it is insignifi-
"cant.

Upon this *supposition* it might be too great for an ordinary meeting in the Congregational way, yet not big enough for a Diocesan Church. But the *supposition* is groundless and contradicts *Athanasius* who sayes they had Personal Communion, *they all prayed together*, and did not only meet within the Walls, but *concurred in the worship, and said, Amen.*

He sayes 3dly, "Before the Church of *Alexandria*
"met in distinct Congregations, but we are told that
"those places were very small, short and strait places.

All these *save one*, I said, which he ought not to have omitted. And they were so *small*, because those who were wont to meet in them severally, so as to fill them, could all meet in one Church, and did so as *Athanasius* declares.

"But that they were such Chappels or Churches, as
"some of our Parishes in *England* have as great a num-
"ber as *Alexandria*, is hardly credible.

I know not how those places could be well expressed with more diminution than *Athanasius* hath done it, he sayes they were not only *strait* and *small*, but the very *smallest*. If he will make it appear that our Churches or Chappels are less than those that were *ἑκαχίμυτοι*, I shall understand that which I could never before, that something is *less* than that which is *least of all*. But he will prove they were not so *small*, because first *the Church of Alexandria was very numerous from the beginning*

ning. Why it should be counted so very *numerous from the beginning*, I know no reason, but the mistake of an *Historian* who will have a *Sect* of the *Jews* (which was numerous in or about *Alexandria*) to be Christians.

“ And if they met all in one place it must consequent-
“ ly be very large.

The ground of the consequence is removed, *Valesius* his own Author sayes they had *but one Church to meet in*, in *Dionysius his time*, almost 3 Ages from the beginning g. If that one was large, yet it is not like that it stood till *Athanasius* his time; after so many *Edicts* for demolishing of all Christian Churches, and a severe Execution of them in *Diocletian's* Persecution. g pag. 64.

“ Nor is it likely they should divide till they were
“ grown too numerous for the biggest Meeting-place
“ they could conveniently have.

It is as *likely* as that *Athanasius* speaks truth, in a matter which he perfectly knew; he tells us they did *divide*, and yet were not too numerous for *one great Church*, in which they met conveniently too; yea, better than when dispersed in those little places, as he sayes and proves, τὸτο ἐέλπιον ἦν, &c.

2dly, He sayes, “ Though before the *Empire* was converted they might be confined to little places, and
“ forced to meet severally; yet after *Constantine* became
“ Christian, it is not likely that the *Alexandrians* would
“ content themselves with *small* and *strait* Chappels.

Nor did they content themselves with those little ones, for besides this built in *Athanasius* his time, there was one greater than those small ones finished in *Alexander's* time, where the body of Catholics assembled with *Alexander*, the other places being too strait, *σενῶν ὄντων ἄλλων τῶν τόπων*, this is *that one* I excepted, when I said (after *Athanasius*) that *the rest, all save one, were exceeding small*. But is it any proof that these were not

very small which *Athanasius* represents as such, because there was one (expresly excepted from that number) something larger? As for what he adds, that *then every ordinary City, built very great and magnificent Cathedrals,* it is easily said, but will never be proved.

“ 3dly, Some of these Churches had been built with
“ a design of receiving as many as well could have per-
“ sonal Communion in Worship together.

Neither will this hold, unless some of those Churches could have received *all*, which had *Personal Communion* with *Athanasius* in this greatest Church; which he denies, and makes use of to *Constantius* as a plea why he made use of the *greatest*.

“ As *Theonas* is said by *Athanasius* to have built a
“ Church bigger than any of those they had before.

Where *Theonas* is said by *Athanasius* to have built a Church, &c. I find not, nor does he direct us where it may be found, I suppose for very good Reason. Indeed *Athanasius* in this *Apology* speaks of a Church called *Theonas* (it's like in memory of a former Bishop of that place) where he sayes the multitude of Catholicks met with *Alexander*, *συνῆλθον ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος*; in like Circumstances, as a greater multitude assembled with himself in the new Church, which was greater, and pleads *Alexander's* example in defence of what he did. But *Theonas* could not build this Church, for he was dead many years before, being Predecessour to *Peter* whom *Achillas* and *Alexander* succeeded *h*.

h Euseb. l. 7. c.
ult. Theodoret
l. 1. c. 2.

“ And yet this and all the rest were but few and strait
“ in comparison of the great multitude of Catholicks
“ that were in *Alexandria*.

I expected another Conclusion, but if this be all, he might have spared the premisses; for one part of it we assert, the other we need not deny, only adding with *Athanasius*, that the *greatest* Church was capable *δεξιότατος*, of receiving this great multitude. But

But here he sticks, and will wriggle a little more, " But
 " I conceive, sayes he, after all this, that the expressi-
 " ons of *Athanasius* do not conclude that all the Christi-
 " ans in *Alexandria* were met in this great Church.

That *all* and *every one* did come, was never imagined.
 It is but the *main body* of the Catholics that M. B. in-
 tends, as our *Author* observes a little before.

" For the *tumultuous manner* in which they came to
 " their Bishop to demand a general Assembly, makes it
 " probable that not only Women and Children, would
 " be glad to absent themselves, but *many more*, either
 " apprehensive of the effect of this *tumultuous proceeding*,
 " or of the danger of such a crowd.

The Women he will not admit; but was it ever
 known that such a great and solemn Assembly for Wor-
 ship consisted only of Men? Were not the Women in
 Communion with *Athanasius's* Christians, that they must
 be left out, when he sayes all the Catholics met? Can
all be truly said to assemble when the *farr greater part*
 (*Women, Children* and his *many more*) were absent?
 Are not the Women in the *Primitive Church* often
 noted for such Zeal for the Worship of Christ, as made
 them contemn far greater dangers, than here they had
 any cause to be apprehensive of? The supposed *danger*
 was either from the *Crowd* or the *Tumult*. For the for-
 mer, did *the Women* and *many more* never come to Chri-
 stian Assemblies, when there was any danger of being
crowded? I think there was as great danger from a
crowd in *Basiliscus* his Reign, when the *whole City* of
C. P. is said to have met together in a Church with the Em-
 perour, but yet the *Women* stayed not behind but *crowd-*
ed in with the men, as *Theodorus Lector* reports it, *πλὴν*
ὅμῃ τῆς πόλεως ἀνδράσιν ἅμα καὶ γυναιξίν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ βασιλίσκου
συναθροισθείσης i. Besides *Athanasius* here signifies the dan-
 ger of a *crowd* was in the lesser Churches, (not in this)

i collect. lib. 1.

where they could not meet but ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, and so prefers their assembling together in the great Church as better.

As for the *Tumults* (which might have been concealed in a *Vindication of the primitive Church*) if there was any thing *tumultuous*, it was over when *Athanasius* had complied with their desires to meet in the great Church. And so no apprehension of danger left to *women*, or any else, upon this account.

“ And even those that did assemble there were too
 “ many for one Congregation, and was an assembly
 “ more for Solemnity and Ostentation than for Personal
 “ Communion in Worship, and the proper ends of a
 “ religious Assembly.

Here he runs as cross, to the great *Athanasius* and the account which he gives of this Assembly as if he had studied it, debasing that as more for *Ostentation* than for *Personal Communion* in Worship, and the proper ends of a *Religious Assembly*, which *Athanasius* highly commends both for the more desirable *communion* which the Christians had there in *Worship*, and for the greater efficacy of it as to the proper ends of a *Religious Assembly*.

k Apol. 2. p. 531.
 532.

Let any one view the passages k and judge. He sets forth the *harmony*, and *concurrence* of the multitude in *worship with one voice*. He prefers it before *their assemblies*, when dispersed in little places, and not only because the *unanimity* of the multitude was herein more apparent, but because God would sooner hear them, ὅτι καὶ ταχέως ὁ Θεὸς ἐπακούει. For if, says he, according to our Saviour's promise, where two shall agree concerning anything it shall be done for them by my Father, &c. how prevalent will be the one voice of so numerous a people, assembled together and saying Amen to God? and more to that purpose, by which we may perceive, *Athanasius* being Judge, how true is it that this Assembly was more for
 Solemnity

Solemnity and Ostentation, than for Personal Communion in Worship and the proper ends of a Religious Assembly. And thus much to let us see through the *Arts* used to cloud a clear passage alledged out of *Athanasius*; if *M. B.* had betaken himself to such *little devises*, in like Circumstances; our *Author* would have taken the Liberty to tell him, that he was driven to hard Shifts.

Before we leave *Alexandria* I am to take notice of what is said by our *Author*, to part of a Letter writ by a Friend to *M. B.* concerning this *City* and the number of Christians therein in *Constantius* his time. The *Writer* of it observes a gross abuse put upon him in the *Vindicator's* Answer to it, and desires his defence may be here inserted. It contains an argument to confirm what was concluded from that passage in *Athanasius* here insisted on, that the Catholics *then could meet in one place.* After that passage and to this purpose *M. B.* introduced it, as is very apparent *l.* This our *Author* 1 Church Hist. pag. 9. 10. seems to observe *when he begins* with it; he adds, sayes he, *to this of Athanasius* (the very passage mentioned) *another argument given him by a learned Friend m.* And m Pag: 58. after he hath done with it *n,* because *M. B.* has endeavoured to represent the Church of Alexandria so inconsiderable even in *Constantius* his dayes, &c. n Pag. 63. And yet, how it comes to pass I know not, it is quite out of his thoughts while he is examining it. He was so hasty for confuting, that he staies not to take notice what he was to confute, though the intent of it be most plain and obvious, both by the *occasion* and *words* of the *Letter*: But Forces that sense on it, and makes that the design of it; which I was far from thinking, would ever come into any man's Fancy, when he was awake. The words of the Letter are these; *The City of Alexandria, sayes Strabo, is like a Soldiers Cloak, &c. and by computation about ten miles in compass, a 3d. or 4th. part of this was taken up with publick*

publick buildings, Temples and Royal Palaces; thus is two miles and an half or three and a quarter taken up. He answers, "I will not say this *learned friend* hath imposed "on M.B. but there is a very great mistake betwixt them.

But the mistake is his own, and such a one, as I wonder how he could fall into it. He takes it for granted, that the Argument is brought to prove what Christians *Alexandria* had in *Strabo's* time. Here is not the least occasion given for this, unless the citing of *Strabo* shewing the dimensions of that City: but *Primate Usher* is quoted too, on the same account; and so as much reason to fancy the design was to shew what Christians *Alexandria* had in the *Primate's* time. *Jerome, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen* are also cited there; why could not these as well lead him to the right Age, which their words plainly point at, without the least glance at any Age before, as *Strabo* alone (cited without any respect to the time when he writ) so far mislead him? Nay, the 4th. age is expressly mentioned in the Letter; and the numerousness of the *Novatians* and *Arians* in *Alexandria* at the time intended, is insisted on; could he think any man so stupid, that had but the least acquaintance with those things, as to speak of *Arians*, and *Novatians* in *Strabo's* time? But it may be, though I would hope better, our *Examiner* was too inclinable to fix an absurd thing upon the *Writer* of the Letter; that he might be excused, from giving a better answer when it was not ready.

But let us hear what he says to it; yet what can be expected to be said by one who makes his own dream the Foundation of his Discourse? However let us try if we can find any one clause that is *true and pertinent* in the whole, and begin with the best of it.

Though *Strabo* says that Temples and great Palaces took up a 4th. or a 3d. of the City, yet our *Examiner* will

will have us think there might be inhabitants there; when *Epiphanius* says, as I cited him, that part was ἐρημὸν, destitute of Inhabitants, so he tells us *Bruchium* was. The Examiner denies not *Bruchium* to be that Region of the City which *Strabo* says, was taken up with Publick Buildings, but adds, what all the publick buildings of the Town in one Region? But who said all the Publick Buildings? This is his own fancy still.

“And that an outer skirt too, as it is described by “the Greek *Martyrology* in *Hillarion*, &c.

If he mean it was not a Part or Region of the City *Strabo* and *Epiphanius* will have Credit before a story out of the Greek *Martyrology*, or him that tells it, when it appears not in the words cited. In *Strabo* it is μέρος part of the City, in *Epiphanius* it is a Region, ἐν τῷ ἐσχατῷ καλεσμένῳ κλίματι. For as *Rome* was divided into 14 Regions, and C. P. in imitation of it, so *Alexandria* was divided into 5, whereof *Bruchium* was one, and the greatest of all. So I understand *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who upon the loss of *Bruchium* saith, *amist regionum maximam partem quæ Bruchium appellatur*; *Alexandria* lost the greatest of its Regions, which was called *Bruchium*.

de pond. ut
mens p. 166.

“This *Epiphanius* says was destitute of Inhabitants in “his time, and not unlikely, and perhaps destitute of “Publick Buildings too, for it was destroyed after an “obstinate siege in the Reign of *Aurelian* as *Ammianus* “*Marcellinus*, or of *Claudius* as *Eusebius*.

When he hath granted all that I designed, that this part was destitute of Inhabitants, and more too, that it was destroyed, yet he would have the City no less, no necessity of this, says he, sure we are not yet awake? can a City loose τέταρτον ἢ ἢ τρίτον τῶ πάντων περιβόλε μέρος, in the *Historian's* words, a 4th. yea, or a third part of its largeness, and yet not be so much the less? He hath nothing to salve this, but it may be, and it might be, ground-

groundless surmises, without either reason or authority.

“ They might inlarge upon another quarter, being it
“ may be forbid to build *Bruchium*—— they might
“ dwell closer than before, and so their multitude be un-
“ diminisht.

in Chronic.

How far it is from being true, that *their multitude was undiminisht*; and *how needless either to inlarge — or to dwell closer*, may soon appear. The multitude must needs be much diminished in such a War, and a close siege of many years continuance, for so it is reported both by *Eusebius* and *Jerome*; and it was much wasted and in a consumptive condition, before it was thus besieged and dismantled by *Claudius 2.* or *Aurelian*.

Hist. Lib. 4.

*p In Euseb. lib.
7. cap. 22.*

It was greatly diminished in numbers by *Caracalla* who Massacred a great part of the Inhabitants. *Herodian* sayes, *ποσὸν ἐγένετο φόνον ὡς ρείθροισ ἀίματι*, &c. *the slaughter was such that with the streams of blood, which ran from the place, not only the vastest outlets of Nilus, but the Sea, all along the Shore of Alexandria was discoloured*. Towards the latter end of the third Age, *Dionysius* gives an account of the strange diminution of the *Alexandrians*, signifying that in former daies the elderly men were more numerous, than in his time, both young and old, comprizing all from infancy, to extream old age, *ἀπὸ νηπίων ἀρξάμεναι παίδων, μέχρι τῶν εἰς ἀρεθὺν γυνεγακότων*.

“ However certain it is, that this City long after the
“ destruction of *Bruchium*, retained its ancient Great-
“ ness; and is represented by no Author as diminisht ei-
“ ther in Number or Wealth.

This is *certain* no otherwise than the former, *i.e.* quite the wrong way. For not long after the destruction of *Bruchium*, in the Egyptian War made by *Diocletian* upon *Achilleus*, which *Eusebius*, *Entropius* and others mention: It was greatly *diminisht both in numbers and wealth*. For *Alexandria* after a long siege, was taken by force
and

and plundred, great Execution done upon the Citizens, and the Walls of the Town demolished.

A great part of the City (sayes the Letter) was assigned to the Jews, so Strabo indefinitely as Josephus quotes him, others tell us more punctually, that their share was two of the five divisions; though many of them had their habitations in the other divisions, yet they had two 5th. parts intire to themselves; and this is I suppose the τὸ πρῶτον ἰδίον which Josephus sayes the Successors of Alexander, set apart for them; thus we see how 6 or 7 miles of the 10 are disposed of. To this he sayes, "The number of those "Jews was much lessened within a little while after "Strabo by an insurrection of the Alexandrians against "them.

I suppose he means by that slaughter of them which Josephus mentions q, where 50000 were destroyed; but what were these to the vast number of Jews in Egypt, which Philo r sayes amounted to no less than a million? q De Bello Judaic. l. 2. c. 21.
r Legat. ad Caium.

"The civil Wars afterwards under Trajan and his Successor had almost extirpated them.

It was in *Palestine* where these Tragedies were acted, and was so far from extinguishing them in Egypt or *Alexandria*, that thereby, in all probability; their numbers were there increased; for being divested of about 1000 Towns and Garrisons by Severus (*Adrian's* General) as *Dion* reports, and forbidden all access to *Jerusalem* as *Aristo Pellenus* in *Eusebius* s, this made other places more desiraeable, those particularly where they might have good entertainment as they were wont to have at *Alexandria*, and what *Dion Chrysostome* sayes, confirms it. (Lib. 4. cap. 6.

But all this which he sayes, if there were truth in it, is impertinent; for the Letter is not concerned what Jews were there near Strabo or *Adrian's* time, but in

the fourth Age. Yet *this is all* that he hath to say to the rest of the *Letter*, besides the publishing and repeating of his own mistake, and upon no other ground making himself sport with the Writer of it.

Thus he begins, *by the same rule he might have disposed of all at once, and concluded out of Strabo's division of the Town, that there was not one Christian in it*: and repeats it thrice in the same Page, *No matter what number of Jews or Heathens it had in Strabo's dayes—, it is kindly done to provide for Christians before they were in being, surely Strabo, who makes the distribution, never intended the Christians one foot of ground in all that division, and this learned Friend might have spared his little Town of 8 or 10 Furlongs, which he so liberally bestows upon the Bishop of Alexandria, before our Saviour was born—, and he is at it again several times in the following discourse t.*

t Pag. 69. 94.

How desirable a thing is it to have M. B. and *his Friend* render'd ridiculous? when rather than it shall not be done, our Examiner will publish his own indiscretion so many times over to effect it. But I will forbear any sharper reflections upon this *Author*, for taking him to be an ingenuous Person, I may expect he will be severe upon himself, when he discerns his error; which I doubt not but he will see clearly by once more reading that Letter.

Next he would disprove M. B's representation of the Church of *Alexandria* in *Constantius's* time, by giving a view of that Churches greatness from the first Foundation of it u; which because it may concern the *Letter* duly understood, I shall take some notice of it very briefly. But there is something interposed, between this and the *Letter*, which requires some observance; there we may have an instance of this Gentleman's severity upon M. B. and how reasonable it is; "His remark, says he, "upon two Bishops living quietly in *Alexandria* is so
" disinge-

u Pag. 61.

“ disingenuous a suggestion, that he hath reason to be
 “ ashamed of it.

But what is there in this so *disingenuous and shameful*? Does not *Epiphanius* say this, and our Examiner acknowledge it *b*? Ay, but M. B. means that there were *b* *pag. 107.* not only two Bishops, but their *distinct Churches* in this City. Well, and does not *Epiphanius* give him sufficient ground for it? Does he not tell us that *Meletius* made Bishops, who had their *ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν* in every place where he came? Does he not signify that the *Meletians* in *Alexandria* had their *distinct Churches* or Meetings both in the time of *Alexander* and *Athanasius*? says he not particularly of *Meletius* that being familiar with *Alexander* he stayed long in that City, having *ἰδίαν συνάξιν συν τοῖς ἰδίοις* a *distinct Meeting with those of his own Party*? Were there not innumerable Cities in that Age which had *two* Bishops and their Churches, some *three* or *four* at once (those of the *Arians*, the *Donatists*, the *Novatians*, the *Meletians*, &c. besides those who were styled *Catholicks*) Would this Gentleman take it well if M. B. should tell him, that he who denies this is disingenuous if he know it, and hath some reason to be ashamed if he know it not? Ay, but *Epiphanius* was deceived in this account of the *Meletians*, and mis-represents them. Indeed our Examiner makes as bold with *Epiphanius* (a Bishop of great Zeal and Holiness, a Metropolitan, a famous Writer (as he does with M. B. charging him with *much weakness* (as one easily imposed upon) *many oversights, gross mistakes, diverse absurd things, and such stories*, that he will scarce wish worse to his Adversary, than to believe him *c*. Nor does *Epiphanius* alone fall *c* *pag. 112. 113.* under his censure in his *Vindication of the Primitive* &c. Church (as he calls it) he goes near to *accuse more particular Persons* (Bishops amongst others) of eminency in the antient Church, than he *defends*; so that one
 H 2 may

may suspect his design was, not so much to defend *eminent Bishops*, as great *Bishopricks* such as the antient Church had none, and to run cross to M. B. more than to vindicate any.

d Euseb. l. 2 c. 16 " In St. *Mark's* time *Alexandria* had several Churches, though but one Bishop, &c d.

What *Eusebius* sayes of Churches in *Alexandria* at that time, is grounded upon a mistake, as appears, because immediately after the words cited, he adds, *so great was the multitude of Believers at Mark's first attempt there, that Philo in his writings thought fit to give an account of them,* *ὡς καὶ γεγραπὸς ἀξιῶσαι τὸν Φιλόνα.* *Eusebius* conceived that the *Essenes*, as *Scaliger*, or the *Therapeutæ*, as *Valesius*, whom *Philo* describes, were the Christians of *Mark's* Conversion; and there being Assemblies of that Sect of the *Jews* in *Philo's* time, the Historian speaks of Christian Churches at *Alexandria* in *Mark's* time; but those who believe that he erred in the former, can have no reason to give him credit in the latter. Our Examiner does not deny that he was mistaken, but sayes, *it is not material whether they were Jews or Christians*; yet those who inquire after Truth sincerely, will think it *material*; and little value a Testimony which hath no better ground than a mistake.

e Pag. 62.

The next is no better e, that is an Epistle of *Adrian*, which others are puzzled to make sense of, or such sense as can have any appearance of Truth. That very passage in it, which is the only ground of our Author's Argument, himself acknowledges to be false; for he would shew the Christians in *Alexandria* to be numerous enough for his purpose, because it is there said that *some* (whom he takes to be Christians) did force the Patriarch (whoever he be) to worship Christ, and yet adds, *there is no doubt but Adrian does the Christians wrong in this point, for they never forced any to their Religion.*

Religion. Will he have us to rely upon reasonings, which have no better Foundation, than what is *undoubtedly false* by his own Confession? He sayes also *it is not material to our purpose whether this Patriarch were Bishop of Alexandria, or chief Governour of the Jews.* If so, then it is not *material* with this Gentleman, either to argue from that which is not true, or else from that which is nothing to his purpose. For if this Patriarch was the Bishop of *Alexandria*, that they forced him to worship Christ, is *not true*, he did it of his own accord: and if it be not one, who was no Christian, that they forced; then is not any thing in this passage to his purpose, and *Adrian's* Epistle might have been waved as a meer impertinency.

That which follows *f*, hath not the shew of a reason, f Pag. 63.
 “ the great Catechists of *Alexandria*, as *Pantenus*, Cle-
 “ mens, *Origen* and *Heracles*, did not a little advance
 “ the growth of Christian Religion in that place, &c.

Must there needs be a *Diocesan Church* there because the *Catechists* did advance Religion not a little?

The next concerning *Dionysius* his Church meeting at *Chebron* (*Cephro* it should be) and *Coluthio*, is already fully answered, as it is offered with better improvement than our *Examiner* gives it *g*. It cannot easily be ap- g No Evidence
for pag. 35, 36.
 prehended how a larger Church meeting with *Diony-*
sus, made up of those banished with him, and others from several parts of *Egypt*, at *Cephro*, a Village in *Ly-*
bia, a distinct Province; should prove that he had a *Diocesan Church* in *Alexandria*, to any, but those who are very inclinable to believe it without proof. Nor will others understand that *Dionysius* is better proved to be a *Diocesan* by the Christians which came from *Alex-*
andria to *Coluthio* in *Mareotes*; (there being none there besides) for the Believers in *Alexandria* it self, were no more than one Church could hold, as *Valesius* collects
 from

from this very place to our *Examiners* regret, *Ex hoc loco colligitur, etate quidem Dionysii, unicam adhuc fuisse Alexandria Ecclesiam, in quam omnes Urbis illius fideles,*

h Not. in Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 11. *Orationis causâ, conveniebant h.*

In the next Paragraph our *Examiner* argues for the great numbers of Christians at *Alexandria*, from the multitude of Martyrs at *Thebes*.

i Pag. 64.

“ Under the Persecution of *Diocletian* what numbers
“ of Christians might be at *Alexandria*, may be judged
“ by the multitude of Martyrs that suffered at *Thebes* i,
“ &c.

k Cap. 6.

But here he mistakes *Eusebius*, who gives an account not of the Martyrs which were ἐν Θήβαις, in the City *Thebes*, but κατὰ Θηβαίαν, the Province *Thebais* : which was half of that large Kingdom, according to the antient division of it into the upper and lower Egypt. The Superior Egypt was *Thebais*, the inferior was called sometimes the *Delta*, sometimes Egypt in a restrained sense, and this division in these terms we have in *Eusebius* (to go no further) a little before k, κατὰ Θηβαίαν κατὰ Αἴγυπτον, where he begins his account of the Martyrs in this Countrey. Now if the Christians in that Province of large extent, and comprising very many Cities may be concluded to be very numerous from the multitudes of Martyrs which suffered there; yet nothing at all can be inferred for any number to his purpose in the City *Thebes*, by which he would conclude their numerousness in *Alexandria*. But if M. B. had mistaken one City for so large a Countrey with multitudes of Cities in it, and made that mistake the ground of his reasoning; it is like our *Examiner* would have exposed him for it in his *Preface*, as he does for some lesser matters.

l Pag. 65.

In the following Paragraph l, there is a groundless supposition, that the division of *Alexandria* into *Parishes* was antienter than *Arius*, there being no mention of it
by

by any antient Author : as also an accusation of *Petavius* as mistaking *Epiphanius* his words, without any cause that I can discern in those words, though he says, *it is plain* there. That which he says is plain, the learned Dean of *Paul's* could not discern, but understood *Epiphanius* as *Petavius* and others did before him. These I took to be preliminaries and expected his Argument, but found it not, unless it be couched in the first words. Serm. of Separation p. 28.

“The Division of *Alexandria* between several Presbyters, as it were into so many Parishes, &c.

But this signifies nothing for his purpose, if those in *Alexandria* thus divided could all meet in one place, as *Athanasius* declares they did ; and that so plainly that any one will judge so, whose interest is not too hard for his judgment. *Valesius* (who had no byass unless what might lead him the other way) understood it as I do ; and expresses it in these words. (deciding the matter so long insisted on, against our Author) *Afterwards in the times of Athanasius, when there were more Churches built by diverse Bishops of Alexandria, the Citizens assembled in several Churches severally and in parcels, as Athanasius says in his Apology to Constantius ; but on the great Festivals, Easter and Pentecost, no particular assemblies were held, sed universi in majorem Ecclesiam conveniebant, ut ibidem testatur Athanasius, but all of them assembled together in the great Church as Athanasius testifies.*

So that there can be no pretence that the Church in *Alexandria* was *Diocesan* at this time, unless those who could meet together in one place might make such a Church. Yet this was then the greatest Church in the *Empire* save that at *Rome*, and what he adds makes that at *Rome* very unlike such *Diocesan* Churches, as are now asserted.

“*Valesius*

“*Valesius* inferrs from the same passage of Pope *Inno-*
 “*cent's* Epistle to *Decentius*, which *Petavius* brings to
 “prove the contrary, that though there were several
 “*Titles* or Churches in *Rome* then, and had been long
 “before, yet none of them was as yet appropriated to
 “any Presbyter, but they were served in common as
 “great Cities in *Holland* and some other reformed
 “Countreys, that have several Churches and Mini-
 “sters, &c.

The Advocates for *these* Churches, who assign the bounds of a *Dioceſs* with most Moderation, will have it to comprize a City with a *Territory* belonging to it ; but there was no Church in the *Territory* which belonged to the Bishop of *Rome*, he had none but within the City, as *Innocentius* declares in the cited Epistle, whereas now the greatest City with a *Territory* larger than some antient *Province* is counted little enough for a *Dioceſs*. Further it is now judged to be no *Dioceſs* which comprises not very many Churches with Presbyters appropriated to them ; but he tells us none of the Churches in *Rome* were appropriated to any Presbyter, but they were *served in common*. How ? as greater Cities in *Holland* and some other reformed Countreys, and then they were ruled *in common* as these Cities are. The Government of many Churches is not there, nor was of old, ever entrusted in one hand ; and thus the Bishop of *Rome* was no more a *Diocesan* than the Presbyters of that City.

m Pag. 66.

He concludes *m* with two Assertions which will neither of them hold good. The first *that it is evident out of Athanasius how the Bishop of that City had from the beginning several fixed Congregations under him.*

This is so far from being *evident* in *Athanasius*, that he hath not one word which so much as intimates that the Bishop of *Alexandria* from the beginning had any such Congregations under him. The

The other is that those of *Mareotes* must be supposed to receive the faith almost as early as *Alexandria*.

How true this is we may understand by *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* towards the latter end of the third Age, who declares that then *Mareotes* was ἐρημὸς ἀδελ-
φῶν καὶ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων η, it was so far from having any true Christians in it, that it had none of our Author's old Christians, i. e. virtuous, good men ο. Nor is it likely that the faith was there generally received till many years after; and therefore not almost so early as *Alexandria*, unless the distance of above 200 years will consist with his almost. For *Alexandria* received the Faith by the preaching of *Mark*, who arrived there, sayes *Eusebius*, in the 2d. of *Claudius* p, others in the 3d. of *Caligula* q. But in the time of *Dionysius* it doth not appear that *Mareotes* had so many Christians, as Bishop *Ischyra*s his Church there consisted of, though those were but seven, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἔχων r. But enough of *Alexandria*, though our Author is far from bringing enough to prove it even in the 4th. age a *Diocesan* Church. He may be excused for doing his utmost to this purpose, considering the consequence of it, for if this Church was not now so numerous as to be *Diocesan*, it will be in vain to expect a discovery of any such Churches in the whole Christian World in those times; for this is acknowledged to be the greatest City and Church in the *Roman Empire* next to *Rome*. So that there cannot be so fair a pretence for any other inferiour to this, such as *Jerusalem*, *Carthage*, *Antioch*, &c. much less for ordinary Cities, which were 10 times less considerable than some of the former, as may be collected from what *Chrysostome* sayes of one of them δὲ καὶ πόλεων πένητας δυνατὸν ἕλω θρόνον, that it was able to maintain the poor of ten Cities s.

So far the Writer of the Letter. Let me now return to our Author's Preface; To shew that the Christians

n Euseb. l. 7.

c. 11.

o pag. 60.

p Chron. Euseb.

q Chron. Alex.

r Athan. Apol.

2. pag. 615.

s In Mat. Hom.

ξογ.

u Pag. 34.

w Lib. I. c. 14.

in *Alexandria* adhereing to *Athanasius* were not so exceeding numerous as is pretended, and not to be compared with the Christians now in *London*, I had said, that the greatest part of the Inhabitants of that City were at this time Heathens or Jews; of those who passed for Christians, it is like *Athanasius* had the lesser share u, the Novatians and other Sects, the Meletians especially, and the Arians, did probably exceed his flock in numbers, it may be the Arians there were more numerous. This last clause (which appears by the expression, I was not positive in) he alone fixes on, and would disprove it by a passage out of *Athanasius*. But the Greek is false printed, and the sense defective for want of some word, and so no Judgment can be well passed thereon, unless I saw it; and where to see it he gives no direction. My concern therein is not so great as to search for it through so voluminous an Author. It will serve my turn well enough, if the *Arians* were but very numerous, or as *Sozomen* expresses them, ἐκὸλίγη μωίεχ τὸ λαὸν π, which cannot be denied, though they alone were not more numerous. The last thing he would take notice of, is the Diocesis of *Theodoret*, but this is remitted to the Dean of Paul's, yet one thing he says he cannot omit; though some may think that he had better have passed it (as he had many other things); than being so much in haste, to slip at almost every line, as he does in those few which concern it.

If these 800 Churches, not 80 as this Gentleman reckons them (it was not he but the Printer that so reckoned them, as the Errata shew) belonged to him as Metropolitan, and they were all Episcopal Churches (I never met with any before, that took them for Episcopal Churches, and how he should fall into this mistake I cannot imagine; I will not believe that he creates it, to make himself work) this poor Region of *Cyprus* would have more Bishops

Bishops than all Africa (not so neither, for by the conference at Carthage, and the abbreviation of it by St. *Austin*, much more to be relyed on, than the *Notitia* published by *Simond*, which is neither consistent with others, nor with it self, *Africa* had many more Bishops than 800) notwithstanding they were more numerous there than in any part of the World besides. Nor will this pass for true with those, who take his own account concerning their numbers in *Africa* (which he reckons but 466 *Vindic. p. 149.* taking in those of the *Schismatics* too; about 66 for each Province one with another, counting them as he does *seven* :) and the account which others give of their numbers, in the antient *Roman Province*, the *Kingdom of Naples*, the *Island Crete*, *Ireland*, to say nothing of *Armenia*, and other parts of the World.

That which follows, is I suppose, instead of an *Answer* to the other part of my discourse concerning the popular election of Bishops, which this Gentleman was as much concerned to take notice of, as of the few passages he hath touched in the former part, why he did not I will not enquire further, but satisfy my self with what is obvious; especially since he tells us he intends a discourse of such a Subject. If in this designed work he satisfies me, that it was not the general practice of the antient Church, for the People to concur in the choice of their Bishops, he will do me a greater displeasure, than the confutation of what I have writ, or any other that I can fear he intends me; by taking me off from further Conversation with antient Authors, as persons by whose Writings we can clearly know nothing. For if that point be not clear in Antiquity. I can never expect to find any thing there that is so.

I intended to conclude this discourse here, without giving the Reader further trouble; but considering there are misapprehensions about the Subject in question

tion, those being taken by diverse, for *Diocesan Churches* which indeed are not such, and arguments used to prove them so which are not competent for that purpose, (of which there are many instances, as elsewhere so particularly in the latter end of this Authors discourse) : I thought it requisite for the rectifying of these mistakes, and to shew the insufficiency or impertinency of such reasonings, to give an account what *mediums* cannot in reason be esteemed, to afford competent proof of *Diocesan Churches*.

In general, Those who will satisfy us that any Churches, in the first Ages of Christianity, were *Diocesan*, should prove them to be such *Diocesans* as ours are, as large or near as large; otherwise what they offer, will scarce appear to be pertinent. For the rise of this debate is the question between us, whether the Bishops of these times be such as those in the *primitive Church*. This we deny, because modern Bishops will have *another sort of Churches* or *Dioceses*, than were known in the best Ages. Not that we reject all *Dioceses* or *Diocesan Churches*, for both *μεγίστη* and *Διοίκησις* are used by the Antients for such Churches as we allow. It is those of a later Model, that we approve not, as vastly differing from the antient Episcopal Churches. The modern *Dioceses*, and Churches thence denominated are exceeding great and extensive, consisting of many scores, or many hundred particular Churches, whereas for the three first Ages we cannot find 3 Bishops that had *two* particular Churches in his *Diocesis*, nor in the 4th. one in 50 (if I may not say one in a hundred) that had *more*. So that the difference is exceeding great, and more considerable in the *consequence* thereof, which I had rather give an account of in the words of the very learned D. St. than mine own. *Dioceses generally*, sayes he, *in the primitive, and Eastern Churches were very small*
and

and little, as far more convenient for this end of them in the Government of the Church under the Bishops charge *x*, *x* *Iren.p.376.* and elsewhere, Discipline, sayes he, was then a great deal more strict, Preaching more diligent, Men more apprehensive of the weight of their Function, than for any to undertake such a care and charge of Souls, that it was impossible for them even to know, observe or watch over, so as to give an account for them *y*, Men that were imployed in the Church then did not consult for their ease and honour, and thought it not enough for them to sit still, and bid others work *z*. St. Austin speaking of the 3d. Age, makes account of many thousand Bishops then in the World *a*. Our Author seems to treat that excellent Person something courselly on this occasion, and goes near to question his judgment or veracity for it, *b* some may think this not over decently done (to say no more) when it is his business, to vindicate some antient Bishops who need it, to reflect upon one, so untainted, as to need none. However since he sayes that *Father judged of other Ages by his own*, when *Dioceses were exceedingly multiplyed c*, we may suppose he will grant there were many thousand Bishops in the 4th. Age. Yet among so many thousand Bishops I do not expect that any can shew me 20 (if I may not say 10.) who had so many Churches in their *Dioceses*, as some *Pluralists* amongst us may have, who yet never pretend to have a *Diocesan Church*. Those therefore who will make proof of such *Diocesan Churches* as are in question, must shew us some in the *primitive times* something like ours in largeness and extent. Amongst the instances produced for this purpose by former or later Writers, I find none any thing near to ours, save that only of *Theodore* in the 5th. Age. But this in the former Discourse was shewed to be so insufficient to serve the ends it is alledged for, that I may hope it will be prest no more for this Service.

More

More particularly. 1st. It proves not a Church to be *Diocesan* because it consists of more than can meet together in one place, for there are Parishes in this Land that contain many hundreds or thousands more than can meet in the Parish Church, and yet are but counted single Congregations. Though multitudes in such Churches be far from proving them to be *Diocesan*, yet I think *two* instances cannot be given in the third Age of more in one Church than are in some single Congregations amongst us; nor many afterwards, till *Arianism* and *Donatism* were suppressed; which the latter was not in *Africa* till after the famous Conference at *Carthage*, Anno 410; nor the former in other parts during the 4th. Age; for though *Theodosius* made some sharp Declarations against them and other Hereticks, yet none but the *Eunomians* were prosecuted, if we believe *Socrates d*; that Emperour gave not the least trouble to the rest, *forced none to communicate with him*, but allowed them *their Meetings*, and even in C. P. when afterwards the *Arians* divided among themselves, each party had several Congregations in that City *e*; both that which adhered to *Marinus*, and that also which followed *Dorotheus*, these keeping the Churches *which they had before* and the other erecting new Churches.

d Lib. 5. c. 20.

e Lib. 5. c. 23.

f Apol. c. 37. &
ad Scapulam.

I know there are those, who from some passages in *Tertullian f*, would infer that the Christians in his time were the major part of the Inhabitants in all Cities, and so enough not only for vast Congregations, but for *Diocesan Churches*. But *Tertullian* was a great Oratour and frequently uses hyperbolical expressions, which ought not to be streined. Such are those insisted on, and by regular construction they import no more than that the Christians were very numerous in many parts of the Empire. Those that will have them streined, and understood

derstood as they sound, offer great injury to *Tertullian*, making him intend that which hath no warrant in any Records of Antiquity, Civil or Ecclesiastical, that I can meet with. Before they impose such a sense on him, they ought in reason to make it manifest, that the Christians were the *major part* of the inhabitants in some considerable Cities at that time; when I believe they cannot produce *two* instances in the *whole* Empire, I never yet could meet with *one*.

Our *Author* from these Oratorical expressions sticks not to conclude, that it is evident that the Christians were the *major part* every where, but in Rome more eminently so, and Dr. *Downham* signifies that *Tertullian* speaks chiefly of the City of Rome g, this Gentleman sayes, g Defence l. 2. that by his account it is made very probable, that they were c. 5. p. 98. the better half of the Roman Empire, and tells us, it is pag. 54. certain that the number of Christians at Rome was proportionably greater than in any part of the Empire. Now how far the Christians at Rome were from being the major part of the Inhabitants, we may judge by the vast disproportion between the poor in the Church at Rome, and those in the whole City. *Cornelius* near 50 years after *Tertullian* (when it was of more growth by half an Age) reckons the poor of his Church to be 1500; whereas out of *Suetonius* and others, the poorer sorts of Citizens, *quæ à publico victitabat*, are computed to be 320000 h.

Many take occasion from the thousands converted at Jerusalem, Acts 2. and 4. to conclude the vast number of Christians and exceeding largeness of Churches elsewhere. Our *Author* hath nothing from Scripture for Diocesan Churches but this, which is considerable i; i Pag. 435, &c. nor will this appear so, if but a small part of those thousands can be counted inhabitants of Jerusalem, and so fixed in that Church. And this is as demonstrable as any

h *Lipsius de*
Mag. Rom. l. 3.
cap. 2.

any thing of this nature can be. For this miraculous Conversion was at *Pentecost*, one of the three great *Feasts*, when there was a vast concourse of *Jews and Profelytes from all parts* to that City: These converted were not only Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* but Forreigners; and in all reason *more* of these proportionably, as they exceeded the Inhabitants in number. And then those of the City will scarce be a 20th part of the 5 or 8000 *Converts*. For the Forreigners that resorted to *Jerusalem* at these great Solemnities are reckoned to be three millions, *ἐκ ἐλαττοῦς τριακοσίων μυριάδων* *k*, whereas the Inhabitants of that City were but about an 120000 *περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες*, but of this elsewhere more fully.

k Joseph de Bel.
Judaic. Lib. 2.
cap. 24.

The Author of the Vindication will not have so great a part of those *Converts* to be *Strangers*, and to return home when the Feast was over, and assigns something like reasons for it.

“ 1st, That the Scripture gives no countenance to this
“ Conjecture, but sayes all those strange Nations were
“ Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and the Original word in-
“ clines most on this side.

That he should say the *Scripture gives no countenance to this*, is something strange. It is plain in Scripture, that God enjoined the Children of *Israel* to repair to *Jerusalem* from all quarters of the Countrey where they dwelt thrice a year, for the observance of the three great *Feasts*. And it is apparent also that they were wont to come up to *Jerusalem* at those Solemnities, both *Jews and Profelytes*, *διὰ τὸ πᾶσα συναληλυθῆσαι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν* *a*. And it is evident in that Chapter cited, *Acts 2*. The Feast of Pentecost being come, there was a resort of Jews and Profelytes from all those parts of the World to this City. Ay, but the Scripture sayes, *all those Strange Nations were inhabitants of Jerusalem*.

a In Euseb. l. 2.
c. 23.

He can't judge that the Scripture sayes this, but upon a supposition that the word *κατοικῶντες*, *Acts 2. 5.* can signify no other thing than *inhabitants*, but this is a mistake, for the word denotes such as *abide* in a place, not only as *inhabitants*, but as *strangers* or *Sojourners*. Thus *Dr. Hammond* will have it translated *abiding*, rather than dwelling *b*, those that were there as *strangers c*, and here expresses those *abiding* at Jerusalem, to be *Jews* *b In loc. c In Act. 10. 2.* which came up to the Feast of the Passover, and *Proselytes* which had come from several Nations of all Quarters of the World. Thus also *Mr. Mead d*, for the word *κατοικῶντες*, saith he, which I translate *sojourning* rather *d In Exercit. in Act. 2. 5.* than dwelling (for so I understand it, that they were not proper dwellers, but such as came to worship at Jerusalem from those far Countreys, at the Feast of the Passover and Pentecost, and so had been continuing there some good time) it is true that in the usual Greek, *οἰκία* and *κατοικία* signify a durable mansion, but with the Hellenists in whose Dialect the Scripture speaketh, they are used indifferently for a stay of a shorter or longer time, that is, for to sojourn as well as to dwell, as these two examples out of the Septuagint will make manifest, *Gen. 27. 44. 1 Kings 17. 20.* there *κατοικῶν* is to sojourn only. In a word *οἰκία* and *κατοικία* answer to the Hebrew Verb *בשׁוׁ* which signifies any stay or remaining in a place. *Grotius* saith it answers the Hebrew word which is render'd not only by *κατοικῶν* but *μεσικῶν*, &c. adding, therefore it is not said only of them who had fixed their habitation, but of those who were come to the City for the celebrating of the Passover or Pentecost, staying there for a while. The best and most learned Expositors generally take it so in this place, as denoting, not settled *Inhabitants*, but such as resided there only for a time. Indeed when this Author would have the Scripture say all these strange Nations were *inhabitants* of Jerusalem, he makes it speak things inconsistent.

For it is said ver. 9. they were κατοικῶντες, dwellers at Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, &c. by which must be understood, either that they were inhabitants or Sojourners in those Countreys; that they were now Sojourners there, no man will imagine, nor can any man be said to be actually a sojourner in a place where he is not, And if they were inhabitants of those Regions they could not be inhabitants of Jerusalem, unless they could be inhabitants of several distant Countreys at once. To the same purpose Mr. Mead e. οἱ κατοικῶντες τῶν Μεσοποταμίων, where note by the way, that οἱ κατοικῶντες τῶν Μεσοποταμίων are comprehended in the number of those whom my Text saith were κατοικῶντες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, which confirms my interpretation that κατοικῶντες there signifies sojourning, and not dwelling; for that they could not be said to dwell in both places.

“ 2. Suppose there were some of them strangers, &c.

Suppose, sayes this Gentleman, there were some of them Strangers? but does any man that understands how or by whom those Feasts were celebrated, ever suppose that there were not very many thousands of strangers, such as were not Inhabitants, present at those Solemnities? Josephus (and Eusebius after him) sayes, there were three millions in the City at the Passover, and declares what course was taken to give Cestius Gallus a certain account of their numbers; but then they were all in a manner strangers, for he adds, πολὺ δὲ τῶτο πλῆθος ἕξωθεν συλλέγεται, this vast multitude consisted of Forreigners f. Yet our Author goes on and confirms himself in the former mistake by another; the verse he cites to prove them fixed Inhabitants at Jerusalem is misunderstood, the words are προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ, which do not signifie any fixed abode in that place, but only their constancy or persevering in the duties mentioned while they were there. This is the use of the Expression in the

e Ibid.

f De bel. Jud.
lib. 7. c. 18.

the New Testament, *Col. 4. 2.* τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε, and so *Rom. 12. 12.* Continuing in Prayer, which they might do if they never had a fixed habitation, nor continued as inhabitants in any place. And thus the Evangelist *Luke* uses the phrase in this book of the *Acts c. 1. ver. 14. c. 2. 46. c. 6. 4.* But our Author I think will never find it used in this form for any settled or continued abode in a place, and had no reason to fancy it here.

He thinks it not probable *g* that the zeal and devotion *g* *Pag. 437.* of those Converts would suffer them to leave the Apostles, whereas it is certain that the Primitive Zeal and Devotion, though it crucified them to the World, yet heightened and improved a Christian care of their Families and the Souls of their Relatives and others. And their zeal for Christ, and love to Souls would hasten them homeward, that they might acquaint their Families and others with Christ and the Doctrine of Salvation, as those dispersed from Jerusalem did, *ch. 8.*

The five thousand mention'd *chap. 4. ver. 4.* he will have to be a new accession to the three thousand before Converted, but should not have been so positive in it without reason. Those who are engaged in the same cause with him (besides many others) are not of his opinion herein, as they would have been if they had seen any ground for it. Dr. Hammond *h* takes the 5000 *h* *In loc.* to be the number of the Auditory, not of the Converts, Bishop Downham includes the three thousand in those five *i*, and the Dean of Paul's makes account but of five *i* *Defence l. 2. c. 5. pag. 85.* thousand in all *k*. To me it is not material whether they *k* *Serm. of Separation Pag. 26.* were 5000 or 8000 or many more, seeing there was not the twentieth part of them other than Forreigners, and such as for any thing I can see or hear designed not to dwell at Jerusalem, and so intended not fix themselves in that particular Church. There can be no just reckoning of the numerousness of a Church, from

an occasional recourse of strangers, who inhabit remote parts or forreign Countreys.

If there had been more Christians in the Church of *Jerusalem* than could meet in one place, that would be no Evidence that it was a *Diocesan* Church, whereas the whole is said in the *Acts* to meet in one place *l.* He hath nothing to say against this which is considerable, but that the *all*, may denote only those that were present *m*, and so the sense will be, all that were in one place, were in one place, if this can please himself, I think it will satisfy none else. Let *Dr. Hammond* decide this business, for in such a cause we may admit a Party to be Umpire *n*, What follows, saith he, of the paucity of Believers, and their meeting in one place, is willingly granted by us. What they say of the point of time, *Acts* 2. 41. that believers were so numerous, that they could not conveniently meet in one place, this is contrary to the evidence of the Text, which saith expressly ver. 44. that all the believers were *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ*, which in the last Paragraph they interpreted meeting in one and the same place: the like might be said of the other places, *Acts* 4. 3. and 5. 14. for certainly as yet, though the number of Believers increased, yet they were not distributed into several Congregations.

Concerning the dispersion, *Acts* 8. 1. *o* he tells us, "Though they are all said to be scattered besides the Apostles, yet it cannot be understood of all the Believers."

No, but of the generality of them, all that could commodiously fly as strangers might do. Nor must it be confined to all the Officers only, the generality of Expositors are mis-represented if this be made their sense, nor doth it appear that *Eusebius* so understood it, *καθ' ὅσον* is used in Scripture and other Writers, and *Eusebius* himself, to denote Believers and not Officers only. As for the

l. Acts 2. 44.
6. 2. &c.

m Pag. 441.

n Answer to L.
Ministers. pag.
78. 79.

o P. 442. 443.

the *time* of the dispersion (though I need not insist on it) probably it was nearer this *great Pentecost* than some would have it. On the first day of the week in the morning were the three thousand converted, the next or (as some tell us) the same day afternoon, at the ninth hour *p*, the number of the Converts was increased *p D. L.* to five thousand. While this Sermon was preaching the Apostles are apprehended and committed to Custody till the next morning. Another, it is like the day after, they are imprisoned, but enlarged by an Angel in the night, *chap. 5.* In or near that week were the seven Deacons chosen, presently after the Disciples were thus increased and the Apostles imprisoned and dismissed. The expression signifies it, *chap. 6. 1.* It is not ἐν ἐκείναις, in those daies which may admit a latitude and some good distance of time, but ἐν ταύταις, in these dayes, which denotes the time instant, or that which immediately ensues, without the interposure of any such distance. And so the phrase is used by St. *Luke* both in the Gospel and in the *Acts*. It is Dr. *Hammond's* observation upon *Luk. 1. 39.* The phrase ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις, in these dayes, saith he, hath for most part a peculiar signification, differing from ἐν ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, in those daies. The latter signifies an indefinite time, sometimes a good way off, but the former generally denotes a certain time then present, instantly, then at that time; so here, that which is said of *Mary's* going to *Elizabeth* was sure immediately after the departing of the Angel from her, and therefore it is said she rose up μετὰ σπουδῆς, very hastily, so *ver. 24.* μετὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας, i.e. immediately *Elizabeth* conceived, so *chap. 6. 12.* ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις, i. e. then, at that point of time he went out to the Mountain. See *Chap. 23. 7. c. 24. 18. Acts 1. 5. c. 11. 27. and 21. 15.*

Immediately after the choice of the Deacons, Stephen one of the Seven is apprehended *ἀνατὴν χειροτονία*, as soon as ever he was ordained, as if he had been ordained for this alone, saith Eusebius (l. 2. c. 1.) And at the same time the Persecution began which dispersed that Church. Whereas he saith, 'whatsoever numbers were forced away; it is likely they returned, if he understand it of the strangers driven from Jerusalem, that they returned to fix there, or otherwise than occasionally, it is no more likely nor will be sooner proved than what he asserts a little after (pag. 444.) viz. *that the empty Sepulcher preached with no less efficacy than the Apostles.*

This is enough to satisfy what our Author would draw out of Scripture concerning the Church of Jerusalem. After some trifling about Objections which he forms himself, and then makes sport with, he comes to prove that Jerusalem was a *Diocesan* Church in the Apostles time. But first he would have us believe that James was the proper Bishop of that Church, and would evince it by two Testimonies, that of Clemens and Hegesippus. But what sayes his Clemens? He saith not only that James was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem presently after our Saviour's Ascension, but what I think our Author was loth to mention. If he had given us the intire sentence it might have been better understood. After the Ascension of our Saviour, Peter, James and John, the most honoured by our Lord, would not yet contend for the first degree of honour, *οὐκ ἐκτιμῶμεν τὸ πρῶτον*, but chose James the just Bishop of Jerusalem, *Apostolorum Episcopum*. Ruffinus reads it, This seems to signify that his being made a Bishop there, was some degree of Honour above their being Apostles. A learned Romanist tells us q, that the books where Eusebius had this did so abound with Errours, that they were not thought worth

worth preserving, and so are lost (as those of *Papias* and *Hegesippus* are for the same reason) this may prove one instance of those many Errours. That which seems to be the sense of his words is more fully expressed by one who goes under the name of *Clemens* too r, *James* r l. 2. *Recognit.* the Lord's Brother was Prince of Bishops, and by his Episcopal Authority commanded all the Apostles, and so the former *Clemens* in *Ruffinus* calls him the Bishop of the Apostles s. If he means such a Bishop as ours (and *Hist.* l. 2. c. 2. otherwise his meaning will not serve our Authors purpose) then the Apostles were but the Vicars or Curates of *James*. This is bad enough if *James* was an Apostle, the absurdest Papist will scarce ascribe as much to *Peter*. But if he was not an Apostle, it is yet more intolerable. If our Author can believe his own Witness, some may admire, but I think few will follow him.

Let us hear *Hegesippus* (not quite so antient as this Gentleman makes him, since he was alive in the Reign of *Commodus*) he sayes, *James* ruled that Church μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. If we take this as it is render'd in *Jerome* after the Apostles, it is not only against Grammar, but without Truth, and makes *James* to be Bishop when he was dead, for he was martyred about the 4th. of *Nero*, and all the Apostles but the other *James* surviv'd him. But if the meaning be that he ruled that Church with the Apostles, it speaks him no more the Bishop of *Jerusalem* than the rest of the Apostles, who were not fixed or topical Bishops, but Oecumenical Officers of an extraordinary Office and Power and accordingly is *James* described. One antient Author sayes that he no less than *Peter* did ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ὁμοῦλης ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. And *Epiphanius* reports t, that *Hyginus* after *James*, *Peter* and *Paul* was the ninth Bishop of Rome successively, signifying that he was as much Bishop of Rome

Rome as Paul and Peter. I need not quote that other Author who sayes he ruled the holy Church of the Hebrews, *Ep: to James. as also he did all Churches every where founded u.*

“ However certain it is that James was Bishop of Jerusalem, not only from Hegesippus and Clemens Alex. but also from St. Paul, who mentions him as one of the Apostles that he had Conversed with in Jerusalem, and it is likely there were no more there at that time but he and Peter.

W Dr. Barrow
Suprem. p. 120,
121.

This is no way certain from Clemens and Hegesippus, and so far from being certain by St. Paul, that his mentioning him as an Apostle makes it rather certain that he was not a Bishop; for the Offices of an Apostle and of a Bishop are inconsistent, as is acknowledged and proved by an excellent Person of your own. “ The Offices of an Apostle and of a Bishop are not in their nature well consistent, for the Apostleship is an extraordinary Office, charged with the instruction and Government of the whole World, and calling for an answerable care (the Apostles being Rulers, as St. Chrysostome saith, ordained by God, Rulers not taking several Nations and Cities, but all of them in common intrusted with the whole world) but Episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge affixed to one place, and requiring a special attendance there, Bishops being Pastors who, as Chrysostome saith, do sit, and are imployed in one place. Now he that hath such a general care can hardly discharge such a particular Office, and he that is fixed to so particular an attendance, can hardly look well after so general a charge, &c. Baronius saith of St. Peter, that it was his Office not to stay in one place, but as much as it was possible for one man to travel over the whole world, and to bring those who did not yet believe to the Faith, and throughly to establish believers. If so how could he be Bishop of Rome, which was an Office in-

“ inconsistent with such vagrancy. It would not have
 “ becomed St. *Peter* the prime Apostle to assume the
 “ charge of a particular Bishop, it had been a degrada-
 “ tion of himself, a disparagement to the Apostolical
 “ Majesty for him to take upon him the Bishoprick of
 “ *Rome*, as if the *King* should become Mayor of *London*,
 “ as if the Bishop of *London* should be Vicar of *Pan-*
 “ *cras*. And little before, St. *Peter*’s being Bishop of
 “ *Rome* (it holds as well of James’s being Bishop of Jerusa-
 “ lem) would confound the Offices which God made di-
 “ stinct, for God did appoint first Apostles, then Prophets,
 “ then Pastors and Teachers, wherefore St. *Peter* after he
 “ was an *Apostle* could not well become a *Bishop*, it would
 “ be such an irregularity as if a Bishop should be made a
 “ Deacon.

“ Ecclesiastical History makes *James* the ordinary Bi-
 “ shop and *Diocesan* of the place.

There is nothing in Ecclesiastical History for it, but
 what is derived from *Hegesippus* and *Clemens*, whom o-
 thers followed right or wrong.

“ It is strange to see *Salmasius* run his head so vio-
 “ lently against such solid Testimonies as those of *Hege-*
 “ *sippus* and *Clemens*.

That great person understood things better, and dis-
 cerned no danger in *running his head* against a shadow,
 and there is nothing more of Solidity in what is alledged
 from those Authors.

Further he would prove it a *Diocesan* Church by a
 passage in *Hegesippus*, who sayes, “ that several of the
 “ *Jewish* Sectaries who beleived neither a Resurrection
 “ nor Judgment to come, were Converted by *James*,
 “ and that when a great number of the Rulers and
 “ principal men of the City were by this Ministry
 “ brought to believe the Gospel, the *Jews* made an
 “ Uproar, the Scribes and Pharisees saying, that it was

x Pag. 446.

“to be feared that all the people would turn Christians x.

m Euseb. 2. c. 23.

y Animad. in Euseb. p. 178.

z In Euseb. l. 2. cap. 23.

a Not. ad Heres 78.

He sayes many of the *prime Sectaries* were converted by *James*, but this will scarce prove such a *Diocesan* Church as he contends for. That which would serve his turn (*that all the people would turn Christians*) was not effected, but only feared by the *Jews*, who took a course to prevent it by killing *James*. But if this were for his purpose, *Hegeſippus* is not an Author to be relied on, part of the Sentence cited is false, *that the Sects mentioned* (and he had mentioned seven) *did not believe the Resurrection nor Judgment*, whereas the Pharisees and others of them beleived both, which *Valesius* observes. One false thing in a Testimony is enough to render it suspected, but there are near twenty things false or fabulous in this account he gives of *James*, many of them marked by *Scaliger y*, divers by *Valesius z*, and some acknowledged by *Petavius a*.

He would not have us suspect that the numbers of the Church at *Jerusalem* were not so great as he pretends, because *Pella*, an obscure little Town, could receive them all besides its own Inhabitants, “but we must understand that Town to be their *Metropolis*, and the “Believers all scattered through the whole Countrey, “and this as *Epiphanius* writes.

b Epiph. Her. 30.

c De Ponder. & Mens. cap. 15.

But where does *Epiphanius* write this? Not in the place cited, he writes the contrary both there and elsewhere, that *all the Believers* (in one place b) that *all the Disciples* (in another place) πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ ὄκνησαν ἐν Πέλλῃ c, what he adds is but to describe where the Town was situated, *all the Disciples, all the Believers* dwelt beyond *Jordan* in *Pella*. Archbishop *Whitgift* brings this as a pregnant proof that the Christians at *Jerusalem* were but few in comparison (and no more than could all meet in one place, as a little before he affirms

firms again and again) his words are how few Chri-
 “ stians was there at *Jerusalem* not long before it was de-
 “ stroyed, being above Forty years after Christ ? Does
 “ not *Eusebius* testifie *d* that they all were received into a *d Lib. 3. cap. 5.*
 “ little Town called *Pella* ? yet the Apostles had spent
 “ much time and labour in Preaching there ; but the
 “ number of those that did not profess Christ in that
 “ City was infinite *e*. This might be farther cleared by *e Defence of An-*
 what *Epiphanius* saith of that Church in its return from *swer. Treat. 3. c.*
Pella, but I design briefness. *6. pag. 175.*

Our Author adds one Testimony more, to shew that
 under the Government of *Simeon* great numbers were
 “ added to that Church, many thousands of the Cir-
 “ cumcision receiving the Christian Faith at that time,
 “ and among the rest *Iustus*, &c. *pag. 448.*

But those who view the place in *Eusebius* will see,
 that he does not say those many of the Circumcision
 were converted by *Simeon*, or were *under his Govern-*
ment, or belonged to that Church ; and so it signifies
 nothing for his purpose. And so in fine, the account
 wherewith he concludes his Discourse of *Jerusalem* will
 not be admitted by any who impartially consider the
 Premises.

As for his other Scripture instances, there is not so
 much as the shadow of a proof shewed by him, that
 there were near so many Christians as in *Jerusalem*, or
 as are in some one of our Parishes, yea, or more than
 could meet in one place, either in *Samaria* (where he
 says it appears not what kind of Government was establis-
 ed, *pag. 451.*) or in *Lydda*, which was but a Village,
 though a fair one, and far from having *Saron* for its pro-
 per Territory, that being a plain between *Joppa* and
Cesarea ; or in *Antioch*, *pag. 452.* much less in *Corinth*
 and *Ephesus* which he advisedly passes by, *pag. 456.*

Our Author does in effect acknowledge that in Scripture it appears not that these Churches were *Episcopal*, much less *Diocesan*; "It is to be confessed, saies he, pag. 461. that the Scriptures have not left so full and perfect an account of the Constitution and Government of the *first* Churches, &c. Thus we have no more notice of the Churches of *Samaria* and of *Judea* (*Jerusalem* excepted) than that such were founded by the Apostles; but of their *Government* and *Constitution* we have not the least Information. What information then can we have that they were *Diocesan* or *Episcopal*? He goes on, "And the prospect left of *Antioch* in Scripture is very confused, as of a Church in *fieri*, where a great number of eminent persons laboured together to the building of it up; but only from *Ecclesiastical* Writers, who report that this Church, when it was settled and digested, was committed to the Government of *Euodias*, and after him to *Ignatius*, &c. So that after what form the Church at *Antioch* was constituted does not appear (it may be Congregational and not *Diocesan*, for any thing this Gentleman can see in Scripture) but only from *Ecclesiastical* Writers.

But his *Ecclesiastical Writers* do so contradict one another as renders their testimonies of little value. Nor is there much more reckoning to be made of the *traditional* account they and others give concerning the Succession and Government of the first Bishops, than this Author makes of *Eusebius* his *traditional* Chronology, pag. 454. Some make *Euodias* the first Bishop and he being dead *Ignatius* to succeed him *f*; on the contrary some will have *Ignatius* to have been the first, and make no mention of *Euodias* *g*; others will have them to have governed that Church both together *h*; some will have *Euodias* ordained by *Peter*, and *Ignatius* by *Paul*, others report *Ignatius* ordained by *Peter*, and some modern

f Euseb. l. 3. c. 22.

g Chrys. Orat. in Ignat.

h Clemens Constitut. l. 7. c. 46.

dern Authors of great eminency, both Protestants and Papists (not only *Baronius* but *Dr. Hammond*) find no more tolerable way to reconcile them, than by asserting that there were more Bishops than one there at once, which quite blasts the conceit of a *Diocesan Church* there.

And what is alledged for the numbers of Christians there, to support this conceit of a *Diocesan Church*, is very feeble, pag. 452, 453. *A great number believed, Acts 11. 21. and much people, ver. 24.* The next verses shew, that there were no more than *Paul* and *Barnabas* assembled within one Church; meeting ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, for a year together, and there taught this ἱκανὸν οἱ πολὺν ὄχλον. The same divine Author sayes, *Acts 6. 7. πολὺς ὄχλος, a great Company of the Priests were converted,* and will this Gentleman hence conclude that there were Priests enough converted to make a *Diocese*?

He hath no ground from Scripture to think otherwise of *Rome* (that we may take in all his Scripture instances together) however he would perswade us that there were several Congregations there in the Apostles times. Let us see how. “By the multitude of
“Salutations in the end of that Epistle he makes appear
“the numbers of Christians in that City. Salute *Priscilla* and *Aquila* with the Church that is in their
“house.

The *Dean of Pauls* will have this Church in their house to be but a *Family*, this Author will have it to be a *Congregation*, as if it might be either to serve a turn. I think it was such a *Congregation* as removed with *Aquila* from one Countrey to another, for this Church which was in their house at *Ephesus* before, (*1 Cor 16.*) is said to be in their house at *Rome, Rom. 16.* that is, there were some of the Church which belonged to their
Family.

i In Rom. 16.

Family. It is a question whether there was now at *Rome* any one Congregation such as our Author intends, *Grotius* i thinks it probable *there was none at all*. But let us suppose this to be a Congregation, where finds he his several others? why where another person would scarce dream of any? "It is not improbable, saith he, "that several that are mentioned with all *the Saints that* "are with them, may be the Officers of several Congre-
"gations, pag. 457. 458.

But it is manifest that in the Apostle's times one Congregation had many Officers, how then can several Officers be a good Medium to prove several Congregations? The antient Authors which count those Officers (mentioned *Rom. 16.*) do make them *Bishops* (and some except not *Narcissus* nor *Prisca*, i. e. *Priscilla*, tho' her Husband also hath an Episcopal Chair assigned him) Now if they were not Bishops at *Rome* but other places, they are alledged to no purpose; if they were Bishops at *Rome*, there will be very many Bishops in that one Church (it may be more than *Priscilla's* Congregation consisted of) which rather than our Author will grant, I suppose he will quit his plurality of Congregations here. Indeed what he adds next doth no waies favour them, and this number was afterwards increased considerably by the coming of *Paul*, who converted some of the *Jews*, and afterwards received all that came, whether Jew's or Gentiles, and preached to them the Kingdom of God for the space of two whole years, no man forbidding him, pag. 458.

Paul preached at *Rome* in his hired house for two years, all this while he received all that came to him; there is no question but that all the Christians there did come to hear this most eminent Apostle: so that it seems from first to last there were no more Christians at *Rome* than a private House could receive.

He

He would prove what he intends from *Nero's* Persecution, who is said to have put an infinite multitude of Christians to death upon pretence that they had fired *Rome*, pag. 458. *Tacitus* speaks of the Christians as guilty, and sayes they confessed the Crime, and detected many others.

Now those who suffered, either confessed that they fired *Rome* and then they were no Christians; or they did not confess it, and then he wrongs them intolerably, and deserves no credit. But our Author to excuse him (against the sense of such who best understand him, *Lipsius* particularlay, besides *Baronius* and others) sayes, *they confessed not that they burn't Rome, but that they were Christians*. Whereas the inquiry being concerning the burning of *Rome*, the question was not whether they were *Christians*, but whether they fired the City, of this last *Tacitus* speaks, and will be so understood by those who think he speaks pertinently. But for truth in those accounts he gives of Christians, it is no more to be expected than from other Heathen Authors of those Ages, with whom it is customary on that subject *splendidè mentiri*. Some other instances hereof we have in this report of *Tacitus*, which I suppose our Author will scarce offer to excuse, as when the Christian Religion is called *Exitiabilis superstitio*, and when the Christians are said *per flagitia invisos vulgò fuisse*.

But suppose he speaks truth, what is it he sayes? *Nero put an infinite multitude of them to death*, but *ingens multitudo*, which are his words, may be far less than an infinite multitude. Two or three hundred may pass for a great multitude, and extraordinarily great, when that which is spoke of them is extraordinary. The Martyrs burnt in Queen *Mary's* dayes were a great multitude; and few may be accounted very many, to suffer

suffer in such a manner, as these did by *Nero's Cruelty*, *Ferarum tergis contecti ut laniatucanum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis uterentur*, in the words of *Tacitus*.

To this he adds the general account which *Eusebius* gives of the success of the Christian faith immediately after the first discovery of it, *that presently in all Cities and Villages Churches abounding with innumerable multitudes were assembled*, &c. pag. 459.

If he will not deal unkindly with *Eusebius* he must not set his expressions upon the Rack, nor stretch them beyond his intention, nor forget what is observed to be usual with him; *Oratorem more rem amplificare*. These Churches consisting of *innumerable multitudes* are said to be not only in *all Cities*, but *Villages*; now I believe it will be an hard matter for our Author to shew us any *Villages*, even in *Constantine's* time, where there were a Thousand, yea, or 500 Christians. Those who will not abuse themselves or their Readers must give great allowance to such expressions, and not rely on them in strict arguing.

k Church Hist.
p. 7. Vindicat.
p. 27.

And here it may not be amiss to take notice of what he sayes of *Rome* in another Chapter, *M. B.* had declared, *that he found no reason to believe that Rome and Alexandria had for 200 years more Christians than some London Parishes (which have 60000 Souls) nor near, if half so many k.* The chief, if not the only argument to prove them at *Rome* more numerous, is a passage in *Cornelius* his Epistle shewing the number of the Officers and of the poor, this was in the middle of the third Age, and so not within these 200 years, but yet proves not what it is alledged for in *Cornelius's* time, near *Anno 360*. The number of Officers signifies no such thing, as hath been made evident, the number of
the

the poor, being 1500 rather proves the contrary. This was cleared by comparing the proportions of the poor with the rest in other places, at *Antioch* in particular, as was shewed out of *Chrysostome*, who reckons the poor to be a tenth part of the Inhabitants, and if it was so at *Rome* in *Cornelius's* time, the Christians were about 15000. This will serve M. B's purpose well enough. But the time and circumstances being exceeding different, makes it most probable that the Christians then at *Rome* did nothing near so much exceed the poor in number. It is far more likely that the proportions were nearer that at *Constantinople*, where *Chrysostom* sayes, the poor was *one half*, this would spoil all our Authors pretensions, and so he advisedly takes no notice of it.

However something he would say against M. B. if one, could understand it. It is about the word *πλειονες* in *Cornelius's* Epistle render'd the poor. *Valesius* observes the word is used by the *Roman Clergy* in an Epistle to those at *Carthage*, *sive Viduæ sive Thlibomeni*, i. e. *indigentes*, saith he, as *Rufinus* translates it, and tells us also that *Cyprian* I calls them *pauperes & indigentes qui laborant*. These, sayes our Author, were not only poor, but sick and diseased, alledging that of the *Roman Clergy* for it after *Valesius*, and if he mean not only the poor, but the sick also and the diseased he is right, for *Cornelius* signifies those that were maintained by the Church, Widows and Indigent whether sick or well. But when he sayes *these poor were such only as were not able to come abroad*, he seems to confine it to the sick and diseased, and then it contradicts the former, and is without reason, against the use and import of the word, as render'd by all Interpreters former and later that I meet with, and indeed against common sense; for the number *Cornelius* speaks of is fixed, as that of the *Presbyters and Deacons*,
M such

such as may be constantly known and a certain account given of it, whereas the number of the *sick* is not fixed, but such a contingency as is very uncertain and various.

But *Cornelius* says in the same Epistle *that the people of his Church were innumerable*. True, that is, according to the frequent use of the word, very many (it is granted they were more than in any other Church) as when *Dio* says the Nations conquered by *Trajan* were innumerable, and *Socrates* expresses those wounded in the fight between the Christians and Heathen in *Alexandria* about the demolishing of an Idol Temple were *ἀνὰ ἑκατὸνταὶ m*, which in *Sozomen* is but *many n* ; and another antient Author says there were innumerable Bishops in *Africa*, which yet this Gentleman can easily count, and tells us that Schismatics and all were but 466 o. M. B. may allow him what he falls short in this reckoning, which is more than half, and may grant there were many more hundreds of Christians in *Rome* than any of these innumerable come to, and yet make good what he supposes.

m Lib. 5. c. 15.

n Lib. 7. c. 15.

o Pag. 131.

The great liberality of the *Roman Church* is offered as no small argument of its greatness, *they sent to a great many Churches, relieving those that were in want, and sending necessaries to such as were condemned to the Mines*; thus in *Severus's* time, and in the time of *Dionysius* the *Provinces of Syria with Arabia were thereby relieved every one*, pag. 53.

M. B. need not doubt, but some one Parish near him might do what is equivalent to this, if the antient Charity were revived, which opened the hearts of Christians in those times further than their Purses could well extend.

But the words are odly stretched, for they did not relieve every one in all those places, but such as were in great want, and those particularly who were condemned

to the Mines ; and ἐπαρκεῖν must denote as it were the al-
sufficiency of the Roman Church, which some would say
is, as it were Blasphemy, but our Author meant better,
the proper import of the word is no more than *stipem
conferre*.

He alledges two passages in Eusebius p, the former p *Pag. 54.*
concerns not Rome more than any other place in the
Empire, the import of it is this, not that every soul of
every sort, but that many of all sorts were lead to the
Christian Religion, if πᾶσιν ψύχαις be stretched to every
soul Eusebius is made to speak what is in a manner no-
toriously false, and monstrously extravagant. The later
which concerns Rome does but signify, *that more of
Good quality for Riches and Birth with their Families and
Relatives came over for Salvation q.* These he will have q *Lib. 5. c. 21.*
to be of the Nobility, but those were counted noble who
descended from such as had been Magistrates in Cities
or free Towns. How this can make that Church near
so great as our Author would have it, or greater than
M. B. supposes, I don't understand.

What he subjoyns is very surprizing and must seem *Pag. 54.*
strange to those who are acquainted with the state of
Church in those times, *that the Christians were the better
half of the Roman Empire, that they were the major part
every where, but in Rome more eminently.* This hath no
good warrant from antient Authors, no, not from Ter-
tullian, though he writ many years after Commodus.
He like an Oratour draws something bigger than the life
(as our Author sayes of Nazianzen, pag. 137.) and
must have allowance on this account by those who will
not be injurious to him. In that very Age wherein
Commodus reigned, it is said *the Christians were so often
slaughtered that few could be found in Rome who professed
the name of Christ r.* And near 150 years after, when r *Platina vita
Constantine* had reigned near 20 years in Rome the gene- *Xysti.*

I Zosimus, Hist.
 l. 2. p. 61.

ality of the Inhabitants shewed such disaffection to Christianity, as that is given for one reason why he transferred the seat of the Empire to *Byzantium* &c.

He runs beyond M. B's bounds towards the middle of the third Century, and tells us *the greatest part of Alexander Severus his Family were Christians*. And so they might be, and yet no more Christians in *Rome* for that, if they were Christians before they came into his family, which is more likely than that they were converted in it. However many more such Additions will not increase that Church beyond M. B's Measures, nor make it near so numerous as that Parish to which *Whitehall* belongs.

Pag. 55.

What he next offers neither concerns *Rome*, being general expressions, nor M. B. referring to the Ages after those which he is concerned for, whether by *μυριάδες* *ἀνομάζους* we understand the great multitudes which were gathered into the Christian Profession (as *Valesius*) or that assembled together for Christian worship (as our Author) is not material; though the former is more likely, unless we can think *Eusebius*, an elegant Writer, would use so much *tantology* in so few lines. That from which he may expect more service is the next expression, which he renders *the multitude of their Meetings in every City*, but may with better reason be render'd, the *numerousness or multitudes of those that assembled in several Cities*. For it is so far from being true, that every City had *many Congregations* of Christians in it; that there were many Cities long after, which had no Christians in them. And two instances cannot be given of any Cities in the whole Empire that at this time had more Congregations than one; unless where they all might have assembled in one place, they thought it better in Prudence to disperse themselves into several Meetings. For in *Alexandria*, which was the greatest City next to *Rome*,

Rome, and the most populous Church in the whole World, there is no appearance of more assemblies till the end of the tenth Persecution, and the death of *Peter* Bishop there, who suffered in the ninth year of it *t. t. Euseb. l. 7. c. 32.* And therefore the *elegant gradation*, in discovering of which this Gentleman would have us take notice that he has a more comprehensive faculty than *Valesius*, seems not very well founded.

That which follows is an hundred years or more beyond the time to which *M. B.* limits his Assertion, *Pag. 55.*
 “About this time or not long after *Rome* had above
 “40 Churches, which we must not imagine to be built
 “all at the same time, but by degrees, according as the
 “number of Believers did require; *&c. pag. 55.*

From the number of Churches he can't reasonably conclude such a multitude of Christians as he contends for. There were many Churches in *Alexandria* when *Athanasius* was Bishop of it, and yet there were no more Christians in his communion than could meet together in one place. *Baronius* tells us, that there was a City in *Germany* which had 400 Churches in it; and yet no reason to think that Town was comparable for Circuit and Populousness, either to *Rome* or *Alexandria*. *Anno 108, M. 5.* If I should say that in *Optatus* there were not so many Churches, but the number mistaken by the Transcribers, this would be as good an answer as that of our Author, who will have the 12 or 14 years of *Athanasius* his Banishment in *Epiphanius* not to be so many moneths, and that years are put instead of moneths by the mistake of the Copies, *pag. 113.* Or that other about the number of Bishops in the Council at *Antioch*, where he will have 30 in diverse Authors to be a mistake of the Transcribers for, 90 (or 97 or 99. *u*) *Onuphrius* must have liked such an Answer to this of *Optatus*, who tho' he was as much concerned for the greatness of the *Roman Church* *upag. 123, 124. 125. Interpret voc. Ecclos.*

Church as any, and no less inquisitive into the antient state of it, yet delivers it as a thing manifest and certain, that *Rome* had but 28 *Titles*, and this number not compleated till the *fifth Age*. But there's no need to insist on any thing of this nature, it is not so material how many Churches there was, as when there was so many, and about the time he will have *Blondel* to mistake, and *M. B.* to follow him therein; he had been nibbling at *Blondell* a little before upon a small occasion and with as little reason, as might be shew'd, if it were fit to follow one in his Vagaries. Let us see whether here he doth not follow *Valesius* in his mistake, who will have *Optatus* to speak of the Churches at *Rome* in the *time of Diocletian's Persecution, tempore persecutionis Diocletiani* &c. But *Optatus* speaks of those Churches when extant and capable of receiving Congregation, as is plain by his words; but what Churches were at *Rome* or other places, in the very beginning of that Persecution, were all quite demolished, and that *in one day*, sayes *Theodoret* x, or the *Paschal dayes*, as *Eusebius* y; and there's no probability they could rebuild them while the Persecution lasted, or that so many could be raised in less than many years after. *Nicephorus* speaks but of 14 Churches at *Constantinople* in the reign of *Theodosius* junior, nor meet I with any Author that gives an account of more, yet this was about an hundred years after *Byzantium* was re-edified, and both *Constantine* and the succeeding Emperours endeavoured to make that City as populous as could be, and furnished it with Churches answerable to the numbers of the Inhabitants. So that there's no likelihood there could be 40 Churches in *Rome* at any time nearer *Dioclesian's* than *Optatus's*.

w In Euseb.
lib.6. c. 43.

x Hist. l. 5. c. 38.
y Chron.

v. 7. c. 49.

But to help this our Author tells us out of *Optatus*,
that

that there were three *Donatists* Bishops at *Rome* successively before *Macrobius*, who was Contemporary with *Optatus*, and that the first of them was *Victor Garbiensis*, and he will have *Optatus* to speak of the State of *Rome* (the 40 Churches there) not as it was in his own time, but in that of this *Victor*, when this was, he sayes, is not easie to fix. pag. 56.

Yet this is certain, it cannot be in the time of *Dioclesian's Persecution*, for the Schisme of the *Donatists* did not break out till *Majorinus* was ordained (who was the first Bishop of the Faction made in *Africa* or elsewhere) and this was sometime after the Persecution was there ended, as *Optatus* and *Valesius* after him, and others declare z; and sometime must be allowed after this for the *Donatists* settling in *Rome*, and such an increase of them there as to need a Bishop. *Baronius* makes this *Victor* to be Bishop in *Silvester's* time, which might be long enough after *Dioclesian's* Persecution, for he lived till 335. All which our Author hath to alledge for the more early date of *Victor's* Bishoprick, is that there were two or three *Donatist* Bishops between *Victor* and *Optatus*; but this will scarce serve his turn. For there were four Bishops of *Rome* in the former part of that very age wherein we are now concerned, who held not the Chair ten years among them, *Marcellus*, *Eusebius*, *Melchiades* and *Marcus*. But we may allow the three *Donatist* Bishop at *Rome* near ten years a piece from the time of *Optatus*, 378 (as both *Blondel* and *Valesius* agree) and yet *Victor Garbiensis* may not be Bishop till *Anno* 350 and so nearer to *Optatus* his time, than *Dioclesians*. z De Schif. Donat. cap. 3.

2dly, It is no proof of *Diocesan* Churches that those who belong to it, do occasionally divide themselves into distinct Meetings, A large Church, and sometimes

times a small Congregation may have occasion to divide and meet in parcels for their convenience or security. Particularly in time of Persecution, that they may assemble with more safety, and be the better concealed from those who would disturb or apprehend them. The people that belonged to *Cyprian* did meet all together on several occasions, as is apparent in his *Epistles*; yet when Persecution was hot, he thought it advisable, *cautè non glomeratim nec per multitudinem simul junctam, conveniendum* l, they durst not in some parts *ἐς τὸ φάραγγον* *ἐκκαλησθῆναι*, in the beginning of *Constantine's* Reign m.

l Ep. 5.

m Sox. l. 1. c. 2.

Damasus, the supposed Author of the Pope's lives, sayes, *Euaristus Titulos Presbyteris divisit, divided the Titles in Rome to the Presbyters*, and by *Titles* some will have us to understand *Parish Churches*. But it is incredible that the Christians in *Trajan's* time when *Euaristus* was Bishop, could erect any structures in form of Churches, or had any distinguishable from other houses, so as the Heathen might take notice of them, as used or designed for the religious exercises of Christians. Who can imagine that when it was death for any one to be known to be a Christian, they should frequent any *known* places for Christian Worship? It is far more reasonable which *Platina* sayes of *Calistus's* time, more than an hundred years after, that then the *meeting of Christians were all secret, and rather in Chappels, and those hidden, and for the most part underground; than in open and publick places* *Cum eâ tempestate ob crebras persecutiones occulta essent omnia, & sacella potius, atque eadem abdita & plerumque subterranea; quam apertis in locis ac publicis fierent.* Dr. St. sayes, *I confess it seems not probable to me that those Tituli were so soon divided as the time of Euaristus, who lived in the time of Trajan, when the Persecution was hot against the Christians; but Damasus seems*

Iren. pag. 357.

seems not to believe himself, for in the life of Dionysius he saith, Hic Presbyteris Ecclesias divisit. His reason concludes as much or more against the *Titles* under this notion ascribed to *Marcellus* 200 years after (which some will have to be 25, but *Onuphrius* shews they could not be more than 15 *n*) for *Marcellus* was Bishop of *Rome* for six years of the tenth Persecution begun by *Dioclesian*, which was the longest and fiercest that ever befel the Church; when the Christians were so far from erecting any Churches, that all before erected were by severe Edicts to be quite demolished. But what is said of *Titles* divided by *Euaristus* may be true in this sense, that since they could not safely meet together in the Persecution under *Trajan*, they dispersed themselves into distinct meetings, and had Presbyters assigned to officiate in each of them. And yet the Christians at *Rome* were then no more, nor long after, than might all meet together for Worship, and did so when it could be done in safety. In the time of *Xystus* who had the Chair at *Rome* under *Adrian*, it is said because of the frequent slaughters of the Christians, there were few found who durst profess the name of Christ, *propter frequentes cædes pauci reperirentur qui nomen Christi profiteri auderent o.* And there was an order in that Church that when the Bishop celebrated, all the Presbyters should be present. *Zepherinus voluit Presbyteros omnes adesse celebrante Episcopo, quod etiam Euaristo placuit,* this is said to be made in the time of *Euaristus* to whom this division of *Titles* is ascribed, and it was in force an hundred years after, being renewed by *Zepherinus* who was Bishop till *Anno* 218 about 30 years before *Cornelius*, who speaks of 46. Presbyters at *Rome*. Now the Lords Supper was frequently administred in those times, at least every *Lords-day*, and when the Bishop was present, he himself did celebrate, and if all the Presbyters

were to be present when he did celebrate, then all the People likewise were to be present, or else they had no Publick Worship, for they could have none without Bishop or Presbyters.

p Pag. 552.

3dly, A Church is not proved to be *Diocesan* by the numbers of *Presbyters* in it, this I have made evident before, and made it good against our *Authors* exceptions. But he brings a new instance p, and will have *Edeffa* to have been a *Diocesan* Church because of the numerous Clergy, the Clergy, sayes he, of the City of *Edeffa* was above 200 persons, not reckoning that of the Countrey within his *Diocese*, and this was a *Diocesan* Bishop to purpose.

q Innocent. Ep.
ad Decentium.

r Novel. 3. c. 3.

He did well not to reckon that of the Countrey in his *Diocese*: unless he had kown that something of the Countrey was within his *Diocese*. It was not unusual for the Bishops charge to be confined to a Town or City Rome it self is an instance of it q, *Cum omnes Ecclesie nostræ intra Civitatem constitutæ sunt*. But why it should be judged to be a *Diocesan* Church because 200 such Persons belonged to it, seeing the great Church at C. P. had above 500 Officers assigned it after *Justinian* had retrenched the numbers r, and yet was never counted a *Diocese*, I do not well understand. But he hath some other reasons for it, and because he thinks they prove the Bishop of *Edeffa* to have been a *Diocesan* to purpose, let us on the by a little examine them; these he gives in summarily, *This was a Diocesan Bishop to purpose, who besides a large Diocese, had excommunicating Archdeacons, and a great revenue.*

I find nothing alledged to shew he had a large *Diocese* or any at all, but this, the City of *Battina* was in the *Diocese* of *Edeffa*, for *Ibas* is accused of having endeavoured to make one John Bishop of it, &c.

Battina

Battina had a Bishop of its own, how then can it be said to be in the *Diocese* of *Edessa*, unless Province and Diocese be confounded? *Edessa* was the *Metropolis* of *Mesopotamia*, the Bishop of it was the third *Metropolitan* in the *Patriarchate* of *Antioch*, as they are ordered in the antient *Notitia*. The Bishop of *Battina* was one of the many *Suffragans* belonging to that *Metropolitan*. How then comes the *Diocese* of *Edessa* to be any wayes large upon this account? Is the *Diocese* of *Canterbury* one foot the larger, because there is a Bishop of *Peterborough* in that *Province*? These things are not easily apprehended nor can be well digested.

2dly, The greatness of his *Revenue* is no more apparent, there is nothing to prove it but the riches of that Church, and its great Revenues, and hereof our *Author* gives us no clear account, no value of the *Numismata*, nor is there any Evidence in the *Council* for the *Manners* he speaks of but only the felling of some wood in a certain place there named. But where there was a *Diocesan* and *Archdeacons*, *decorum* required there should be *Manners* and vast Revenues for the Bishop. Nor do I quarrel with it, only this breaks the squares a little, and disturbs the correspondence between those and our times; that if the Revenues of that Church had amounted to ten times more, yet the Bishop would scarce have been one jot the richer for it. This will not seem strange to any, who take notice of the antient Orders, concerning the revenues of an Episcopal Church. The Bishop was to have nothing thereof if he could maintain himself otherwise. When he was necessitous, nothing was allowed him for himself but *necessaries*, food and raiment *&c.* He was to purchase nothing while he lived, nor to leave any thing got by his Bishoprick when he died, to his Relatives or others, but only to the Church that maintained him *&c.* The Bishop of *Edessa*,

1. Con. Antioch.

c. 25.

1. Code Justin.

Lex 42. Sect. 2.

c. de Episc. Nov.

131. c. 13. Con.

Car. 3. Can. 49.

Edeffa, or any other in these Circumstances, must be a poor *Diocesan*, and one in a good *English Rectory* or *Vicaridge*, is in a fairer way to be rich, than any in the antient Bishopricks, so ordered. And if Riches or Revenues be good Arguments to prove a *Diocesan*, one of our Vicars may be a better *Diocesan* than the Bishop of *Edeffa*. It is true there is some intimation from *Rome*, that the Bishop should have *the 4th. part* of the Churches revenues, but there's no appearance of such a *distribution*, till after the time of the four first general Councils; nor in any Countrey but *Italy* till an hundred years after: Nor did it ever obtain (that I can discover after some inquiry) in the *Greek Churches*.

3. The other proof that *Ibas* was a *Diocesan*, viz. because he had excommunicating *Archdeacons*, our Author would make good by telling us, that one of his *Archdeacons* excommunicated *Maras*. Now this though it prove not what it is alledged for, may prove more than he likes. An *Archdeacon* in the antient Church (though he be another thing now) was not so much as a *Presbyter*, he was but in the lower Order of *Deacons*, though chief amongst them, and chosen by them, as *Jerome* signifies us, *Diaconi eligunt de se quem industrium noverint, & Archidiaconum vocant*, the *Deacons* chuse from amongst themselves one whom they know to be industrious, and call him *Archdeacon*. Now if a *Deacon* had the power to excommunicate, there can be no doubt but the *Presbyters* had it, being of a Superiour Order and Power. And excommunication being counted the highest act of Jurisdiction, it cannot be questioned but the other acts thereof belonged to them; and so the *Presbyters* having all the Jurisdiction of *Bishops* (all the power of Government) what did they want of being *Bishops* but the honour of presiding in their Assemblies?

u Ep. ad Evangelium.

And

And if they were no farther from being Bishops, they will go near to be as much *Diocesan*, and so this Gentleman may chuse, whether he will have *all* of both sorts to be *Diocesans*, or *none* of either.

4ly, It is no Argument to prove a *Diocesan Church* to shew that it consists of such who live at a good distance one from another. *Dionysius* had a great Congregation at *Cephro*, a Village in *Lybia*, but those which made up this Church were of another Countrey, coming partly from *Alexandria*, partly from other parts of *Egypt*, as *Eusebius* shews us, yet none ever esteemed that to be a *Diocesan Church*. In *Justin Martyr's* time those that were in the Countrey, and those that were in the City, when those were no more than made one Congregation, met together in one place, *πάντων καὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀγρῶν συνάντων ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ συνελδίσαι*, the Meeting consisted of such as lived at a good distance, but none will imagine it to be a *Diocesan Church*, but those who will have a single Congregation to be such a Church. *All the Christians in City and Countrey*, says Dr. Downham, *if they had been assembled together, would have made but a small Congregation. w.*

Our *Authour* would prove the largeness of *Basil's* Diocesis by the distance between *Cesarea* and *Sasima*. *He* makes much of it and takes the pains to measure the distance between these Towns, or rather, as he says, to *make some guess at it out* of an *Itinerary* and *Putinger's Tables*; yet tells us the distance must be as great at least as between *Hippo* and *Fussala*, that so *St. Basil's* Diocesis may be as great at least as that of *St. Austin's*. I think they will prove much alike, for as I have shew'd that *Austin's* Diocesis was not one foot larger for *Fussala*, so it will appear that *St. Basil's* had not the least enlargement upon the account of *Sasima*. That he might not be out in his measures nor have lost all his labour, two things

w Defence l. 2.
c. 4. p. 69.

x pag. 546, 547

things should first have been cleared, neither of which is (or I think can be proved ; 1st, That *Sasima* was in *Basil's* Diocese, for if it was but only in his *Province*, how far soever it was from *Cæsarea*, his Diocese can be nothing the larger for it, though his *Province* might. To prove it in his Diocese I find nothing but his own assertion, that *Sasima* is said expressly to be taken out of the Diocese of *Basil* ; but where is this said expressly, or by whom, except by himself ? The words in the Margin signify no such thing, but only some attempt to deprive a *Metropolis* of *Sasima*. For a *Metropolis* may be deprived of a Town which is in any part of the *Province*, when another *Metropolitan* seizeth on it. And I believe our *Author* is yet more out in taking the *Metropolis* which *Nazianzen* speaks of to be *Cæsarea*, when it appears by the *Epistle* to be rather *Tyana*. For as the whole *Epistle* is writ to *Basil*, so these words cited, after many others by way of sharp expostulation, are directed to him as endeavouring to deprive a *Metropolis* of this Town, called ironically τῶν λαμπρῶν Σασίμων : Now *Cæsarea* was not the *Metropolis* which *Basil* would have deprived of *Sasima*, he earnestly endeavoured to have it annexed thereto ; but he would have deprived *Tyana* of it, if *Anthimus* the *Metropolitan* there, had not made a stout opposition. 2dly, He should have proved, that after this part of *Cappadocia* was divided into two *Provinces*, *Sasima* was in that *Province* which fell to *Basil's* share (for if it was not in his *Province* how could his Diocese be any larger for it ?) but instead of this our *Author* offers what may serve to disprove it, telling us that in the antient Greek *Notitia*, *Sasima* is set down in the second *Cappadocia* (which belonged to *Anthimus* as the first did to *Basil*) and so, says he, it is not likely to be very near *Cæsarea*. No indeed, it is thereby proved to be so far from *Cæsarea*, that it did
not

not enlarge *Basil's* Province, much less his Diocese. Thus it is also placed in the *Διατίκταις* of *Leo Sophus* under the Metropolitan of *Tyana*, not of *Cæsarea*. It is true *Basil* laid claim to it, but after some contest he yeilded, and *Anthimus* carried it, placing *Eulalius* there as one of his Suffragans, when *Nazianzen* had quitted it.

He goes farther on to shew the largeness of Dioceses in *Basil's* Province.

“ It is plain by *Nazianzen* that *Cappadocia* had but
 “ 50 Bishops, for so many he sayes *Basil* had under him,
 “ and considering the extent of that Countrey the Dio-
 “ ceses must needs be large.

He does not say *Basil* had no more under him, nor that he was making no more; he knew *Basil* was constituting more Bishops in that part of *Cappadocia* which was his Province, and *Nazianzen* commends him for it as an excellent undertaking on several accounts y.

y *Orat. de Bas.*

“ Considering the extent of that Countrey, the Dio-
 “ ceses must needs be large, for the Countrey as *Strabo*
 “ computes, is near 400 miles in length, and little less in
 “ breadth.

If he means *Basil's* own Province, where he told us there were 50 Suffragans under him besides *Sasima*, &c. z: (as I know not what he can mean else, if his z *Pag. 546.* Discourse be not impertinent and inconsistent; for *Basil* as Metropolitan had no Bishops under him, but those in his proper Province) *Strabo* is strangely misrepresented to serve a turn; for it is the whole Countrey which passed under the name of *Cappadocia*, that the Geographer gives us the dimensions of in the place cited, and tell us it was divided into ten Prefectures, *Meletena*, *Cataonia*, *Cilica*, *Tyanitis*, *Isauritis*, &c. whereof *Basil's* Province was but one, viz. that called *Cilica*, and that of *Anthimus*, *Tyanitis*, another, &c. *Mazaca* (afterwards

(afterwards called *Cæsarea*) being Metropolis of *Basil's* and *Tyana* of *Tyanitis*, &c. and after he hath given some account of these *ten Præfectures*, he adds the dimensions of the whole Countrey, in these words, *the extent of Cappadocia in breadth from the Euxine to Taurus, is 1800 Furlongs, in length 3000.* So that our *Author* will have the extent of *Basil's* Province to be no less than that of the *whole Countrey*, when it is but the *tenth part* thereof. And as if this were not enough, he makes the breadth of the whole Countrey, to be near twice as much as it is in *Strabo*; but he hath some salvo for this, such as it is.

“ And little less in breadth, as *Causabon* restores the
 “ reading of 1800 Furlongs in the 12th. *Book*, by
 “ a passage in the *second* where the breadth is made
 “ 2800.

It is true *Causabon* observes some difference in the places cited, but he shews how they may be easily reconciled, without changing the Text here, or making the Countrey broader than it is here described, *viz.* by taking *Pontus* in one place for the *Sea*, in the other for the *Region* so called, separated from *Cappadocia* by *mountains parallel to Taurus*; and then concludes, *Sic non erit discedendum à vulgatâ lectione.* So that he hath no relief by *Causabon* without curtailing the Passage.

“ And in this compass Bishops may contrive 50 Dio-
 “ ceses of very competent extent, and not inferiour to
 “ many of ours.

Let him try how in *Basil's* Province of about 40 miles in length, he can *contrive* room for above 50 Bishops, with as large Dioceses as those he pleads for. That which is now thought little enough for *one* Bishop *Basil* conceived too big for *Fifty*.

What *Dioceses Basil* (and others before him) thought sufficient for Bishops both then, and in former times, appears by a passage which our *Author* next cites, where *Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium, is directed to constitute Bishops for the Province of Iconium, in little Corporations and Villages.* a Hundreds of instances might be brought of Bishops elsewhere, in such little places and Villages, but I will go no further now, than the instance himself offers us, whereby it is manifest that a little Corporation, or a Village might furnish a Bishop with such a Diocese, as was then thought competent, both by *Basil*, and the Church before him. For in such little places there was Bishops before, as *Basil* there signifies, and he gives direction that it should be so still. Yet he, that would advise the reducing of Bishops to such Sees now, would be counted an enemy to Episcopacy; and his advice destructive to Bishops. So much do we now differ, both from the judgment and practice of the antient Church, and the most eminent Bishops in it.

Hereby also it appears that the multiplying of *Metropolitans* was no such occasion of multiplying Bishops, but that their numbers increased, when there was not that occasion; And this in *Cappadocia*, which is our *Author's* eminent instance. b For Bishops were multiplied by erecting Episcopal Sees in Villages, and little places, this was done in *Isauria*, a Province in *Cappadocia*, as appears by these passages in *Basil*, before the contest between him and *Anthimus*, upon the constituting of a new Metropolitan: and after that difference was Composed, *Basil* thought it adviseable that it should be done still. And the like may be said of *Africa*, the instance he most insists on, and spends many Pages upon it, pretending the occasion why Bishops were so numerous there, was the *Schism* of the *Donatists*,
O
Whereas

c Concil. Carth.
2 Can. 5.

Whereas the rule by which the *African Fathers* proceeded in erecting Bishopricks in *little places*, and so increasing the number of Bishops, was as themselves declare, who best knew it, *the increase of the number of Christians* : c Where these were multiplyed, and desired a Bishop, they thought themselves obliged to let them have one ; not excepting the meanness or smalness of the places, where he was to be constituted. And we must believe (if we have any reverence for those Fathers) that they would have done, what they judged themselves obliged to, though there had been no *Donatists* amongst them. And when there can be no such pretence of occasion from the *Donatists*, the practice was continued, as appears by *St. Austin's* procuring a Bishop for *Fussala*, which he calls a *Castle*, upon some increase of the *Catholicks* there, diverse years after the noted conference at *Carthage*, where the heart of the *Donatists* was broken ; Nay, many years after the invasion of the *Vandals*, and the death of *St. Austin* they proceeded in the same methods, or rather exceeded their Predecessors in multiplying Bishops, by erecting Episcopal seats in smaller, and more inconsiderable places, if *Leo* his Epistle may be credited. d

d Ep. 85.

But to return to our *Author*, and the passage of *Basil*, insisted on, by which sayes he, ' it appears that *Isauria* was part of *Basil's* Province ; How this appears by any thing therein, I cannot imagine, our *Author* signifies before that *Isauria* was a distinct Province, the Metropolis of it (as he supposes) *Seleucia*, which had a metropolitan and suffragans before, and being now destitute, the Bishops in the Vicinity were careful to provide others. Which being so, that it should be part of *Basil's* Province seems as incongruous, as if it were said, that the Province of *York*, is part of the Province of *Canterbury* : but if this could be digested, that

that one Province is part of another, yet *Isauria* would rather be part of *Amphilochius* his province, who (as he tells us) was to *constitute* a Metropolitan and other Bishops therein, than of *Basil's*, who is only represented as giving *advice* about it. Or if giving *advice* and direction, would prove any thing of this nature, the *Papists* might think it a good argument, that *Africa* was part of the *Roman Province*, because *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* gives advise, how Bishops should be there constituted. *e*

e *Ibid.*

Next he brings in the *Chore-piscopi* in order to his design, and tells us *f* they were ' *Countrey Bishops*, and ' their Church consisted of *many* Congregations, and ' those at a good distance one from another, and also ' that some of them had the inspection of a large Territory, no less it is like than the County of *Fussala*. *f* *Pag. 550.*

But not a word for proof of this, save *Basil's* mentioning a *Chor-episcopus τῶν τόπων* of some places; Whereas as if he had been the Bishop of two or three Villages, this might be enough to satisfy the import of that expression. Yet he knows there is some one *Countrey Parish*, that hath ten times as many, or more Villages in it, but never pretended to be a *Diocesan Church*, and that such a pretence would be now counted ridiculous.

He adds, that which, if it were true, would go near to *dethrone* these *Countrey Bishops*; (for *Basil* speaks of them, as having their *Thrones* in Villages) and render them less than antient Presbyters, for all their *large Territory*, and there being *Diocesans*.

' But yet these were but the *Deputies* or *Surrogates* of ' the *City Bishops* in point of jurisdiction, for they ' were to do nothing of moment without their Bishop.

If this be so, it would be less wonder that the Pope will have Bishops to be but his substitutes ; and that some Bishops will have the Pastors of Parochial Churches to be but their *Vicars* or *Curates*. I hope our *Author* intends better, however it is well that such odd *Hypotheses* have no better support than that which is added, for says he, *they were to do nothing of moment without their Bishop* ; this is his argument, and he is not alone in urging it. Let us see whether it will not do the Bishops (for whose advancement it is designed) as much disservice, as it can do the Chorepiscopi, or Presbyters ; divesting them of that which is counted more necessary and advantageous to them, than a large Diocese. The Provincial Bishops were obliged to do nothing, *μὴδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν διὰ τὸ μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου*, without the Bishop of the Metropolis, this the synod at Antioch decrees, according to an antient Canon of the Fathers. g By this argument we must conclude, that the Bishops in a Province were but the *Deputies* and *Surrogates* of the Metropolitan. And it may proceed proportionably against the *Metropolitans* with respect to the *Ἐξάρχαι* or *Primates* ; and also to their prejudice in reference to the *Patriarchs*. It will go near to destroy the *Bishops* likewise, if we follow it downwards. In the antient Church the Bishops were to do nothing of moment, without the Presbyters, this the most judicious and Learned *Asserters* of Episcopacy acknowledge ; h Nay further, in the best Ages of the Church, the Bishops were to do nothing without the people, that is, without their presence and consent. This is most evident in *Cyprian's Epistles*, and is acknowledged by such *Prelatists* as are otherwise reserved enough. i Now by this Argument we may conclude that Bishops were but the *Deputies* or *Surrogates* of the Presbyters ; or which will be counted more intolerable, that Bishops had

g Can. 9. Can.
Apost. 35. Con-
cil. Mileu.
Can. 13.

h B. Bilson,
Dr. Field, Dr.
Downham, B.
Hall, M.
Thorndike, B.
usher.
i Vide defence
of Dr. St. Pag.
407.

had their jurisdiction from the people by *Deputation and Vicarage*. It may be this *Gentleman* will not like his argument so well, when he sees what improvement it is capable of, yet in pursuance of it he adds, ‘ *Basil* ‘ is so resolute upon his prerogative, that he will not endure they should ordain, as much as the inferiour ‘ *Clergy*, without his consent; and if they do, let ‘ them know, (says he) that whosoever is admitted ‘ without our consent shall be reputed but a Layman.

I suppose the *Prerogative* for which he will have *Basil* so resolute, is a *Negative* in ordinations upon the *Countrey Bishops*; but this cannot be concluded from the words cited. For the Council of *Nice* gives the Metropolitan a power, as to ordinations in the same words, & declaring that if a Bishop be ordained by the Provincials, *χωρὶς γνῶμης*, without the judgment of the Metropolitan, the great Council will have him accounted no Bishop; and yet the Metropolitan had no *Negative* upon the Provincials in Ordinations, for the same Council determines, that in ordinations plurality of Votes shall prevail, which is utterly inconsistent with any ones *Negative voice*. What then is the import of *Basil’s* *ἀντὶ γνῶμης*? take it in the words of a very Learned and Judicious Dr. of this Church, it is indeed there said, that none should be ordained *χωρὶς γνῶμης* without the opinion of the Metropolitan, but that doth not import a *Negative voice* in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without this knowledge, advice and suffrage, &c. ¹

5. It is no proof of a *Diocesan Church*, to shew that a Town, besides the Clergy or Officers in it, had some Presbyters or Congregations in the Countrey belonging to it. The instances which signifie no more, or not so much, are produced as sufficient arguments to prove

¹ Barrow of the Popes Supremacy, Pag. 314.

prove there were such Churches. As that of *Gaius Diddensis Presbyter*, supposed (with what ground I examine not) to have been a Countrey Presbyter belonging to *Carthage*, and under *Cyprian*. *m* And that of *Felix* said to do the Office of a Presbyter, under *Decimus* another Presbyter ; a thing unheard of in those times, but let us take it as we find it, and upon the very slender reason alledged against *Goulartius* (who is of another Judgment) believe, that he was a Priest in some Village belonging to *Caldonius* his Diocese. *n* And that order for the Presbyters from their Churches, to repair to their proper Bishop for *Chrism* in *Africa*, *o* in *Spain*, *p* and in *France*. *q* To these are added, for further evidences, the Churches (said without ground to be many,) belonging to *Hippo Dieritorium* ; Also the Church of *Thyana*, belonging to *Alypius* Bishop of *Tagesta*, which without reason, we must take to be a considerable City, *r* and the City *Milevis*, because *Petilian* sayes *Tunca* belonged to it once, though now it had a Bishop of its own ; and by our Authors Art of computation, *Towns*, *Villages* and *Cities* must belong to *Milevis*, upon the sole account of *Tunca*, sometime appertaining to it, *s* and these with *Fussala*, (of which before) are the chief instances to prove that *Africa* had very large *Dioceses not inferiour to those of ours, in extent of Territory*. *t* Besides in the Council of *Neocæsarea* Countrey Presbyters are distinguished from others ; *u* and that of *Antioch* provides that Countrey Presbyters shall not give Canonical Epistles, *w* and allows the Bishop to order his own Church, and the Countrey places depending on it. *x* And *Epiphanius* speaks of a Church belonging to his charge, which we must understand to be his Diocese, though in the passage cited, it is twice called his Province, *y* in fine, *Jerome* speaks of some baptized by Presbyters or Deacons

m Vindication.
P. 504.

n Pag. 506.
 507.

o Con. 4. Can.
 36.

p Tol. 1. Cap.
 20.

q Vascon. Can. 3.

r Pag. 527.

s Pag. 528.

t Pag. 516.

u Can. 13.

w Can. 8.

x Can. 9. Pag.
 536.

y Pag. 555.

cons in *Hamlets, Castles, and Places remote from the Bishop.*

These and such like are used as good arguments for *Diocesan Churches*, whereas there are diverse *Towns in England*, which besides the Officers in them, have *many Congregations* and *Presbyters* in *Villages* belonging to them, and contained within the *Parish*; and yet our Author and those of his persuasion would think *Diocesans* quite ruined, if they were reduced, and confined to the measures of those *Parish Churches*, and left no bigger than some of our *Vicarages* and *Parsonages*, though such as Mr. *Hooker* affirms to be as large as some antient *Bishopricks*; he might have said *most*, there being not one in many greater or so large. I yet see no ground in antiquity, nor can expect to have it proved, that the larger sort of ordinary *Bishopricks* in the *fourth age*, and sometime after, were of more extent than two such *Vicarages* would be, if united. Yet a *Bishop* of such a *District* in our times would be counted so far from having a *competent Diocese*, that he would scarce escape from being scorned as an *Italian Episcopellus*.

But his greatest argument, (in comparison of which his other Allegations, he tells us, are but *accidental hints*, z.) which he most insists on, and offers many times over; so that it makes a great part of his discourse on this subject. a It is drawn from the number of *Bishops in Councils*, by which he would evince the largeness of antient *Dioceses*, when it no way proves *Diocesan Churches* of any size. He proceeds upon this supposition that there were great numbers of *Christians in all parts and Cities*, b in the first age: And that the *Bishops* were fewer in former times than afterwards. The former part of his *Hypothesis*, if he understands the numbers of *Christians* to be any thing comparable to what they

z Pag. 508.

a Pag. 508. to
Pag. 555. to
539. Pag. 556.
to 562.

b Pag. 530.

c Orat. 3.

d pag. 509.

e pag. 557. 558

they were after *Constantine*, when Bishops were much multiplied ; (as he must understand it, if he expect any service from it) wants proof, and he offers none but some passages in *Tertullian*, strained far beyond what is agreeable to other *antient Authors*, of which before. Let me add that *Nazianzen* comparing the numbers of Christians in former times, with those in *Julian's* Reign, says, they were *not many* in former Persecutions, (Christianity had not reached many, *ἔτι οὐκ ὅτι πολλὰς*,) no, not in that of *Dioclesian*, &c. (though they were at that time, farr more numerous, than in *Tertullian's* age) but that Christianity was found only in a few *ἐν ὀλίγοις* c. The other part which needs no proof, since it is granted, (and may be without any advantage to him) he attempts to prove largely and industriously ; but by such a *medium* as makes that which is granted to be questionable, such a one which as it is ordered may conclude backward, and prove the contrary to what he designs. That this may be manifest, let it be observed, that he will have us take an account of the number of Bishops in the Church by their appearing in *Councils*, more or fewer ; and accordingly judge in several periods, whether they were less numerous, and consequently their *Dioceses* larger in former times than afterwards. And to this purpose we need view no other instances than himself produces. At *Lambese* in *Africa* there were 90 Bishops against *Privatus* ; but not so many in any Council after (though not a few are mentioned in that Countrey) till the *Donatists* grew numerous d. In *Spain* the Council of *Eliberis* had 19 Bishops in the beginning of the 4th. Age, and the first Council of *Toledo* had no more in the beginning of the age after. But the following Synods, at *Saragossa*, *Gerunda*, *Ilerda*, *Valentia*, *Arragon*, had not so many e. In *France* the Council at *Valence* had 21 Bishops in the fourth Age, but

but those following them, in that and the after ages had still fewer, viz. That of *Riez*, *Orange*, the third of *Arles*, that at *Angers*, that at *Tours*, and *Vennes* and another at *Arles*. For *General Councils*, the first at *Nice* had 318 Bishops in the beginning of the fourth Age, that at *Ephesus* above an hundred years after, had but two hundred, that at *C. P.* in the latter end of the fourth Age had but one hundred and fifty Bishops.

So that if we take account how many Bishops there were of old, as he would have us, by *their numbers in Councils*, there will be more before the middle of the third Age, than in the beginning of the fourth ; more in the beginning of the fourth than in some part of the fifth ; and more in the beginning of the fifth, than in some part of the sixth ; quite contrary to the *Hypothesis* on which he proceeds. Whether by his argument he would lead us to think *Dioceses* did wax and wane so odly, as it makes Bishops to be more or fewer, I cannot tell. However since he grants that in the fourth and fifth Ages *Dioceses* were *very small f*, and *crumbled into* f pag. 552. *small pieces g*, (and so nothing like ours) : there's no g pag. 516. expectation he can find any larger, if any thing near so great, in any former age : unless they can be larger when incomparably fewer Christians belonged to these Bishops ; which will be no less a paradox than the former. For it cannot but be thought strange, that the Bishops *Diocese* should be *greater* when his flock was undeniably far *less*. And they seem not to be *Christian Bishopricks*, whose measures must be taken by numbers of *Acres* rather than of *Souls* ; or by multitudes of Heathens rather than Christians.

He denies not, that *the generality of Bishops*, for a long while after the *Apostles*, had but one Congregation to Govern. Pag. 71. What then ? says he, *If all the Believers in and*
P about

about a City would hardly make a Congregation, that is to be ascribed to the condition of those times. Dioceses with him, were largest in the first times; but Bishops being still multiplied, they became less and less, and so were very small and crumbled into very little pieces in the fourth and fifth Ages. This is the tendency of his discourse all along. Thus Dioceses must be largest, when a Bishop had but one Congregation; but in after ages when he had more Congregations under his inspection Dioceses were very small. If he will stand to this, our differences may be easily compromised. Let him and those of his persuasion, be content with the Dioceses in the first ages, when he counts them largest; and we shall never trouble any to reduce them to the measures of the fourth and fifth ages, when in his account they were so lamentably *little*, and *crumbled so very small*.

The particulars premised contain enough to satisfy all, that I have yet seen alledged out of Antiquity for *Diocesan Churches*, so that no more is needful, yet let me add another, which will shew there is a *medium* between *Congregational* and *Diocesan Churches*. So that if some Churches should be shewed out of the *Antients* exceeding the *Congregational measures* (as some there were in the times of the four first General Councils) yet it cannot thence be immediately inferred that they were *Diocesan*, since they may prove a *third* sort of Churches, and such as will as little please those of this Gentleman's persuasion as *Congregational*.

6. It's no argument for a *Diocesan Church*, that there were several fixed Churches, with their proper Presbyters in a City or its Territory; so long as these Churches, how many soever were governed in common by the Bishop and Presbyters in such a Precinct. For though few instances can be given of such Churches, in or
be-

belonging to a City in the 4th. Age; yet wherever they were extant in that, or the following Age, in things of *common concern* to those Churches, they were ordered in common by a Presbytery, that is, the Bishop with the Presbyters of that Precinct. Jerome declares it *de jure*, they ought to be governed in common, *in communi debere Ecclesiam regere.* *h*

h In Titus 1.

And Felix 3 Bishop of Rome, (than whom no Bishop was higher, or more absolute in those times,) declares it *de facto*, when he speaks of the Presbyters of that Church, as *διαπόντων μετ' ἐμῆ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον*, ruling that Church with him. It is the same word that the governing of Churches by other Bishops, is expressed by *μετὰ πῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων οἱ τὰς περὶ διέπον ἐκκλησίας γνῶμης*, as Alexander saith of Narcissus, *ὁ περὶ ἐμῆ διέπων τὸν τόπον ἐπισκοπῆς*, *i* It imports no less than *præsidere*, and is ascribed to Bishops and Presbyters, jointly by Tertullian, *k* Cyprian *l* and Firmilian. *m* Hence the Presbyters are frequently said to be *συνλατρυνοί* with the Bishop, *n* for then the Governing power of Bishops was but counted a Ministry, *λατρυρίας γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὄνομα δηλοτικόν*, *o* and the Presbyters fellow Ministers with him, and joint Administrators in the Government. They are styled *συνποιμῶνες*, *p* fellow Pastors, they did not then dream that a Bishop was sole Pastor of many Churches. They are also called *συνέδραται*, which is no less than *συνθρόνοι*, *q* for the Presbyters had their Thrones with the Bishop. So Nazianzen speaks of Basil when ordained Presbyter, as promoted *ἰερούς θρόνους* to the Sacred Thrones of the Presbyters. *r* They are also called *συν-ἀρχοντες* or *κοινονοὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς*.

i Enseb. l. 6. c. 11.

k Apol. c. 39.

l Lib. 1. Ep. 3.

m Ep. 75.

n Theod. Hist. l. 4. c. 8.

o Epiph. Her. 42.

o Isidore Lib. 4.

Ep. 260.

p Naz. Orat. 1.

Orat. 7.

q Ignat. ad Trab.

in Chrysost. Tom.

7. Hom. 5. c.

r Orat. 20.

s Chrys. in Tim.

Hom. 1.

But further evidence is needless, though abundance may be produced, since the great *Patrons* of Episcopacy

t Perpet Go-
vern. Cap. 11.
u Defence. lib.
3. L. 1. c. 8.
w Iren. P. 47.

x Prim. Go-
vern.
y Reduct. of
Episcopacy.
z Iren. Pag.
354. 355. 356.

pacy seems not to question it, that the Church was governed in common, and the Bishop was to do nothing of importance without the Presbyters, it is acknowledged by Bishop Bilson, t Bishop Downham, u Bishop Hall asserts it, as that which is Universally accorded by all antiquity, that all things in the antient Church were ordered and transacted by the general consent of Presbyters. w Mr. Thorndike proves at large, that the Government of Churches passed in common; x Primate Usher more succinctly but effectually. y Add but Dr. St. who both asserts and proves it, z there was still one Ecclesiastical Senate, which ruled all the several Congregations of those Cities in common, of which the several Presbyters of the Congregations were Members, and in which the Bishop acted as the President of the Senate, for the better Governing the affairs of the Church, &c.

Let me add, when the Churches were so multiplied in City and Territory, as that it was requisite to divide them into Parishes, and constitute several Churches; the Bishop was not the proper Ruler or Pastor of the whole Precinct, and the Churches in it, or of any Church, but one. The Parishes or Churches were divided among Presbyters and Bishop, they had their several distinct cures and charges; the Bishops peculiar charge was the *Ecclesia principalis*, the chief Parish or Church so called, or *ἀνδερτικὴ καθίδρα*. The Presbyters performed all Offices in their several Cures, and ordered all affairs which did particularly concern the Churches where they were incumbents; those that were of more common concern were ordered by Bishop and Presbyters together, and thus it was in the Bishops Church or Parish, he performed all Offices, administered all Ordinances of Worship himself, or by Presbyters joyned with him, as Assistants. He was to attend this particular cure constantly, he was not allowed to be absent

sent, no, not under pretence of taking care for some other Church ; if he had any business there which particularly concerned him, he was to make quick dispatch, and not (*χρονίζεν ἢ ἀμελεῖν τῇ οἰκίᾳ λαῶν*, as Zonaras) *stay there with the neglect of his proper flock*; this is all evident by a Canon of the Council of Carthage *a*, *Rur-* In Zon. N. 77
in Code 71.
sum placuit ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali Cathedra, ad aliquam Ecclesiam in Diocesi constitutam se conferre, vel in re propria, diutius quam oportet constitutum, curam vel frequentationem propriæ Cathedralis negligere. Of this Church or Parish he was the proper Pastor or Ruler, called there *ἰδοθ δέονθ*, and elsewhere *οἰκία καθεδρα*, b Can. 53.
 in contradistinction to other parts of the Precinct, called here *Dioces*; and the people of it are called *οἰκία λαῶν* by the ancient Canonist *c*, his proper flock or people, his c Zon. in loc.
 own special charge. This was the particular Church under his personal Government, but he was not Ruler of the Precinct, or any other Churches in it, save only in common, and in conjunction with the other Presbyters; who jointly took cognizance of what in his Church or theirs, was of greater or more general consequence, and concerned the whole, and gave order in it by common consent.

And while this was the form of Government, if there had been as many Churches there, thus associated, as Optatus in the fourth age says there was at Rome, or far more, they could not make a Diocesan Church, unless a Diocesan and a Presbyterian Church be all one. For this is plainly a Presbyterian Church, the antient Presbyteries differing from the modern but in a matter of smaller moment. In those their President being fixed and constant, in these commonly though not always circular. The Presbyteries in Scotland comprized some twelve, some twenty, some more Churches, their

d Hist. p. 559.

their *Moderators* were at first, and for some years, *circular*, King *James* afterwards, *Anno 1606 d*, would have them to be *constant*, and so it was ordered; yet when they were *fixed*, no man ever counted these *Presbyteries* to be *Diocesan Churches*. The Church of *Geneva* consists of twenty four *Parishes*, governed in common by a *Presbytery* with a *Moderator*, who is sometimes changed, sometimes continued for Life. *Calvin* was *President* while he lived, yet that of *Geneva* is not wont to be taken for a *Diocesan Church*. Nor were those antient Churches such, while they were governed, not by one *Bishop*, but by a *Senate* of *Presbyters* where he *presided*; as in the Council of *Constantinople* all things in the *Province* are said, to be governed, not by the *Metropolitan*, but by the *Provincial Sy-*

e can. 2. Soc. l. nod e.
5. cap. 8.

Finally, the *Presbyters* are in the antient Church acknowledged to have had the *power of the keys*, both as to the ministration of the Word and Sacraments, and the exercise of *Government and censures*. This power they exercised either jointly in conjunction with the *Bishop* and *Senate* of *Presbyters*; or *distinctly* in the particular Churches whereof they had the charge. The former power concerning the Word and Sacraments is not questioned, nor is there any ground to question, the latter, if some were not swayed more by the practice of their own times, than the principles and declarations of the antients. *Chrysostom* ascribes to *Presbyters*, not only *διδασκαλίας*, the power of order, but *ἐκκλησιαστικῆς* the power of *Government* f, giving this as the reason why the Apostle gives the same rules for the ordering both of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, *there is but little difference betwixt them*, says he, *for they are ordained both to the teach-*

f In 1 Tim.
Hom. 11.

teaching (*διδασκαλία*) and ruling of the Church. Now that *ἐξουσία*, denotes jurisdiction or *presidentiam cum potestate*, and is as *Hesychius* renders it, *κυβέρνησις*, is plain in *Chrysostome* himself; he tells us the Apostle Paul had *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξουσίαν*, *g* which he elsewhere expresses by *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὅλην κυβερνῶν* *h*; and speaking of *Moses*, he says, it was wonderful, that he who was to be a Ruler, *ὁ προφήτης μέλλων ἔσθαι*, should be born at such a time *i*. *Theophylact* makes the difference as little between Bishop and Presbyters, and ascribes as much power to the later, almost in the same words *k*. So *Theodoret* declares *ἐξουσίαν*, jurisdiction to belong to every Presbyter *l*, against an Elder especially, no less than two Witnesses must be admitted, because he having *ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐξουσίαν*, the Government of the Church, and in the exercise of it often grieving Delinquents, they being ill affected to him, will be apt to bring false accusations. And this is the *ἡγεμονία* included in the Presbyters Office, *εἰς ἀκρίβειαν καὶ λέγειν, εἰς ἡγεμονίαν* as *Naxianzen* speaks and much more to that purpose *m*. And besides many other *n* *Orat. 1.* passages of like import, the Title of Governours is all a long in antient Writers given to Presbyters; and all the expressions which signifie Authority and Government, are ascribed to them. Thereby those that would curtail their power, and make it no more of old than it is now, are not a little encumbered; to extricate themselves a distinction is devised of a power *internal* and *external*, the former they will allow to Presbyters in their respective Churches, not the later.

But this is devised to disentangle themselves, and salve the deviations and irregularities of later times, not that there is any ground for it in Antiquity. For the highest act of that *external* power of jurisdiction, is *Excommunication*; and if this was in the Presbyters power of old, no other act of that power will, or can
in

n Ad Heliodo-
sum.

o Hom. 17. in
Matth.

p Novel. 123.
c. 11.

q Lex 39, Sec.
2. Tit. de Episc.
& Clericis.

r Thornd. Prim.
Govern. Pag.
73. 74.

s Idem. service.
Pag. 68.

in reason be denied them ; but this the antients ascribe to them ; So Jerome, *n Mihi ante Presbyterum sedere non licet, illi si peccavero licet me tradere satanae ad interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit.* Chrysostome threatened some of his Auditory, while he was a Presbyter, to Excommunicate them, *ἐπαγορεύω λοιπόν ὑμῖν τῶν ἱερῶν τέτων* o Hom. 17. in *ὁμολογῶντες περὶ τούτων*, o to wave all of like nature insisted on by others ; Justinian in the 6th. Age signifies plainly, that not only Bishops, but Presbyters might Excommunicate Offenders, in his *Constitutions* he forbids Bishops and Presbyters to exclude any from Communion, till such cause was declared, for which the Canons appointed it to be done, *πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπαγορεύεται, ἀφορίζειν πᾶνα τὴν ἀγίαν κοινότητα, &c.* and will have the sentence of Excommunication rescinded, which was passed by Bishops or Presbyters without cause. p In the Code both Bishops and Clergy are forbid to Excommunicate in certain cases, and then mentions the cases for which they must not, *ἢ ἀφορίζειν ἢ ἀναθεματίζειν — καὶν ἔθῳ τοῦτον ἐκράτησεν, ἀ-* though they had been accustomed to it. q

Now while Presbyters had this power there could be no *Diocesan Churches*, whether they exercised it in common, as was shewed before, or particularly in their several Churches, as will now be made apparent ; For by virtue of these powers the Presbyters were really Bishops, though they had not alwayes the Title, yea, they are called Bishops, as a *Learned Prelatist* observes, by the antientest Authors, *Clemens, Ignatius, Tertullian,* and have frequently the Names and Titles which some would appropriate to Bishops, and which the Fathers use to express the Office of Bishops by, *μεγιστὸς Πρεπο-* *siti, Antistites, Præsidentes, &c.* And so there was as many Bishops really in every Diocese, as there were particular Churches and Presbyters there ; And well may

may they be said to be really the same, since they were of the very *same Office*; for Bishops in the antient Church, were not a *superiour Order* to Presbyters, but had only a *Precedency* in the same *Order*. This some of the most judicious and learned *Defenders* of Episcopacy assert. And those who hold that *Patriarchs, Metropolitans* and *Bishops* differed not in *Order*, but in *degree* only, which is the common opinion of *Episcopal Divines*, and yet contend that Bishops and Presbyters were of a *different order*, will never be able to prove it. The difference they assign between *Bishops* and *Metropolitans* is, that these *presided in Synods*, and had a *principal interest in Ordinations*, and what more did the preeminence of antient Bishops, distinguishing them from Presbyters amount to? It consisted in nothing material but their *presidency* in Presbyteries, and their *power in Ordinations*. This last is most insisted on, as making the difference wider, between these than the other. But with little reason all things considered. For those to be ordained, were first to be examined and approved by the Presbyters, *μη ἄλλως χειροτονείδωσαν ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων κληρικῶν δοκιμαζόντων* *t*, the ordaining of one to the Presbytery was to be *ἡμεῖς καὶ κρίσει τῶ κλήρου παύλα* *u*. It was a crime for which the greatest Bishop in the World was censurable, to prefer any, or make Ordinations *ἄνευ γνώμης τῶ κλήρου*, as appears by what *Chrysostome* was accused of, though it is like falsely *w*, and this is counted by some the *substance* of Ordination, wherein the Presbyters had no less share (to say no more) than the Bishop. And in *imposing hands*, which was the *Rite of Ordaining*, the Presbyters were to concur with the Bishop, for which there is better Authority than the Canon of an *African Council*, for saith a very learned Doctor *x*, to this purpose, the *laying on of the hands of the Presbytery y*, is no ways impertinently alledged, although

*t Theophilus
Commonitor.
cap. 6.*

*u Clem. Constit.
lib. 8. cap.
18.*

*w Phot. in Chrys.
Tom. 8. pag. 155.
Concil. Carth. 4.
cap. 22. Turon. 2.*

x Iren. p. 275.

y 1 Tim. 1. 1.

we suppose St. Paul to concur in the action; because if the Presbytery had nothing to do in the Ordination, to what purpose were their hands laid upon him? Was it only to be Witnesses of the fact, or to signify their consent? Both these might have been, done without their use of that Ceremony, which will scarce be instanced in, to be done by any but such, as had power to conferr what was signified by that Ceremony. And diverse instances are brought by the same hand to shew that Ordinations by Presbyters was valid in the antient Church z.

z pag. 379.

But if the Presbyters had been quite excluded from Ordination, and this power had been intirely reserved to the Bishops, yet this would not be sufficient to constitute them a *superiour Order*. For the Rite of Ordaining was so farr from being an act of Government or jurisdiction, that it did not inferre any *superiority* in the Ordainer; nothing being more ordinary in the practice of the Antient Church, than for those were of a lower Degree and Station, to Ordain their Superiours.

While there was no more distance betwixt Bishop and Presbyters but only in Degree, so that as the Bishop was but *primus Presbyter*, (as Hilary under the name of Ambrose, and others a; or Primicerius as Optatus, defined by a Learned Civilian to be πρῶτος ἢ πρῆστος) b the first Presbyter, so the Presbyter was a second Bishop ἐν δακτύλῳ ἰσχύος, as Nazianzen. As the Bishop was *summus sacerdos*, in the style of Tertullian and others, that is, chief Presbyter, so the Presbyter was Bishop a degree lower; not that he had less pastoral power, but because he wanted that degree of dignity or preeminence, for which the other was styled chief. As the Præter Urbanus was called Maximus, yet he had

a In 1 Tim. Auctor. Quest. in V. et N. T.
b Gothofrid. in Code.

had no more Power than the other, *Prætorum idem erat collegium, eadem potestas* c, but only some more privilege and dignity, *dignitate cæteros anteibat propterea* c. 6. *maximus dicebatur* d, and the ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πάντων, at Athens d Felt. in verb. was *Prætor maximus*, yet all the rest were *pares potestatis* major. et c; Bishops and Presbyters had *idem ministerium* as c. *ibid.* Jerome, *eadem Ordinatio*, as Hilary f, they were of the f. in 1 Tim. 3. same Order and Office, had the same power, the power of the Keys, all that which the Scripture makes essential to a Bishop. While it was thus, there could be no *Dio-cesan Churches*, that is, no Churches consisting of many Congregations which had but one Bishop only.

Congregations which had but one Bishop only.
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 of the Keys, all that which the Scripture makes essential
 same Order and Office, had the same power, the power
 Jerome, each Ordination, as Hilary, they were of the same
 etc; Bishops and Presbyters had each minister as a
 was Peter himself, yet all the rest were Peter's
 maintenance, and the keys entrusted, as Athanasius
 Bishops and dignity, distinct orders, distinct properties
 colleges; each possessed but only some more privi-
 had no more Power than the other; Peter was alone



POST-SCRIPT.

A Late Writer presumes he has detected a notable mistake in the *Author*, of *No Evidence for Diocesan Churches* (ascribed to one who owns it not) about *μύριοι*, which I suppose he would have Translated *Ten Thousands definitely*; but there it is rendred *indefinitely thousands*, as we are wont to express a great many, when the precise number is not known. Those who understand the Language, and have observed the *use* of the Word, will be farr from counting this a fault: and those who view the passage will count it intolerable, to render it as that Gentleman would have it. That of *Atticus* Bishop of C. P. may satisfie any concerning the import and use of the word, who sending mony for the releif of the poor at Nice to *Calliopius*, he thus writes,

Post-script.

writes, ἑξαχθὸν μυρίους ἐν τῇ πόλει πεινῶντας δεῖσθαι ὡς καὶ οὐκ ἐβέντων ἐλέε. Μυρίους δὲ λέγει το πλῆθος, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ δηλῶν αἰετμόν. where he tells him that by *μυρίους* he understands a multitude whose number he did not exactly know, thus (i. e. indefinitely) is the word most frequently used by Greek Writers, and particularly by *Eusebius* the Author of the passage cited. So he tells us, Nero killed his Mother, his Brothers, his Wife, συν ἄλλοις μυρίοις, of her Kindred: And *Timotheus* of *Gaza*, he says, indured *μυρίας βασινύς*. Many more might be added, where the word is not rendred by the best Translators (*Valesius* particularly) ten thousand; but still indefinitely *innumerabiles* or *infiniti*, or *sexcenti*, &c. Nor have I met with one instance (though possibly there may be some) in him where it is used to express ten thousand precisely.

However it had been an unpardonable injury to *Eusebius*, to have rendred it so in this place; as if he would have deluded the World with a most palpable untruth, which both he, and all men acquainted with the state of the Church in those times, know to be so. For this make him say that ten thousand Bishops

Hist. l. 2. c.

l. 8. c. 13.

Post-script.

shops met in Council at *Antioch* in the third Age ; when as he never knew a Synod of six hundred Bishops in the fourth Age, while he lived ; though then Bishops were farr more numerous, and had all encouragement to meet in greatest numbers. This makes him signifie, that ten thousand Bishops assembled in the skirts of the *East part* of the *Empire* : When as their was not near so many (this Gentleman is concerned to maintain there was not *one thousand*) in the *whole Christian World*.

This is more than enough to shew that there is sufficient warrant to Translate *twice*, *Thousands* more than once ; though that it is in that discourse (which he stiles *a little Pamphlet*) so translated more then once, is another of his mistakes. And a *third* (all in two lines) is that the Author grounds his Argument on it. Whereas those that view the passage, and the occasion of it, will see it had been more for his advantage to have translated it *ten thousands*. He that can allow himself to write at this rate, may easily be voluminous, and look too big to be despised, as a writer of *little Pamphlets*. The

Post-script.

The Letter mentioned pag. 45. being communicated to me by M. B. that part of it which concerns Alexandria is here added, that it may appear how much it is mistaken, and how farr from being answered.

For Alexandria it was the greatest City in the Empire next to Rome, *μεγίστη μὲν τῶν πόλεων ἢ πόλεις*, says Josephus de bello Judaic lib. 5. c. ult. And Epiphanius gives an account of many Churches in it assigned to several Presbyters, viz. besides Cesarea finished by Athanasius, that of Dionysius, Theonas, Pierius, Serapion, Perseas, Dizia, Mundidius, Annianus, Baucalas, adding καὶ ἄλλαι. *Hæres 69. page 728*: This notwithstanding that the Christians at Alexandria which held Communion with Athanasius, might and did meet together in one Church, he himself declares expressly in his Apology to Constantius, page 531. Tom. 1. Edit. Commelin. Anno 1601. The whole passage is too large to transcribe or translate, this is the sence of it. He being accused for assembling the People in the great Church before it was dedicated (*πρὶν αὐτῇ τελεῖσθαι*) makes this part of his defence. 'The confluence of the People at the Paschal solemnity

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nity was so great that if they had met in several assemblies (καὶ μὲν καὶ διηρημένως) the other Churches were so little and strait, that they would have been in danger of suffering by the crowd, nor would the universal harmony and concurrence of the People have been so visible and effectual, if they had met in parcels. Therefore he appeals to him, whether it was not better for the whole multitude to meet in that great Church (being a place large enough to receive them altogether οὐτὸς ἦδη τότε τὸ δυναμένον δεξασθαι πάντας, ἐν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν,) and to have a concurrence of all the people with one voice (καὶ πλὴν αὐτῶν καὶ συμφωνίας τοῦ λαοῦ γίνεσθαι πλὴν φωνῶν.) For if says he according to our Saviours promise, where two shall agree as touching any thing, it shall be done for them of my Father, &c. How prevalent will be the one voice of so numerous a People assembled together and saying *Amen* to God? Who therefore would not wonder, who would not count it a happiness, to see so great a People met together in one place? And how did the people rejoice to behold one another, whereas formerly they assembled in several places? Hereby it is evident that in the middle of the fourth Age, all the Christians at *Alexan-*
R *dria,*

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dria which were wont at other times to meet in several assemblies, were no more than one Church might and did contain, so as they could all join at once in the Worship of God and concurre in one *Amen*.

He tells him also that *Alexander* his Predecessor, (who died *An. 325*) did as much as he in like circumstances, *viz.* assembled the whole multitude in one Church before it was dedicated, *pag. 532.*

This seems clear enough, but being capable of another kind of proof which may be no less satisfactory, let me add that also. This City was by *Strabo* his description of it, *χλαμυδαῖς τὸ χῆμα*, like a Soldiers Coat, whose length at either side was almost 30 Furlongs, its breadth at either end 7 or 8 Furlongs, *Geogr. lib. 17. pag. 546.* so the whole compass will be less than ten Miles. A third or fourth part of this was taken up with publick Buildings, Temples, and Royal Palaces, *ἔχει τε ἡ πόλις τεμένη, τὰ τε κοινὰ κάλλιστα καὶ βασιλεία, τέταρτον, ἢ καὶ τρίτον τὸ πᾶν τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος. ibid.* two Miles and half or three and a quarter is thus disposed of. I take this to be that Region of the City which *Epiphanius* calls *εὐρέχιον*, (where he tells us, was the famous Library of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*) and speaks
of

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of it in his time as destitute of Inhabitants, *ἔρημον τοίνυν ἐνπέρχον*, de Ponder. & mensur, n. 9. p. 166
A great part of the City was assigned to the Jews, *πόλεως ἀφώριστο μὲν τῷ ἔθνεϊ τέτταρτον*. So Strabo indefinitely, as Josephus quotes him. *Antiquit. Jud. l. 14. c. 12.* Others tells us more punctually, their share was two of the five divisions (*Ushers Annals Latin, pag. 859.*) Though many of them had their habitation in the other divisions, yet they had two fifth parts entire to themselves, and this is (I suppose) the *τὸν ἑνὸς ἑκτατος* which Josephus saith, the Successors of Alexander set apart for them (*αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισαν, bello Jud. l. 2. cap. 21.*) Thus we see already how 6 or 7 miles of the 10 were taken up. The greatest part of the Citizens (as at Rome and other Cities) in the beginning of the 4th. Age were Heathens. Otherwise Antonius wrong'd the City, who, in Athanasius's time, is brought in thus exclaiming by Jerom. vit. Paul. p. 243. *Væ tibi Alexandria quæ pro Deo portenta veneraris; væ tibi civitas meretrix in quam totius orbis dæmonia confluxere, &c.* a Charge thus formed, supposes the prevailing party to be guilty. But let us suppose them equal, and their proportion half of the 3 or 4 miles remaining, Let the rest be divided amongst the Orthodox, the Arrians, the
the

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the *Novatians* and other Sects: And if we be just a large part will fall to the share of Here-ticks and Sectaries. For not to mention others, the *Novatians* had several Churches and a Bi-shop there, till *Cyrils* time, *vid. Socrat. Hist. l. 7. c. 7.* The *Arians* were a great part of those who professed Christianity, τὸ λαὸν ἐκ ὁλίγων μοίρας, (*Sozom. Hist. l. 1. c. 14.*) and if we may judge of the followers by their leaders, no less than half. For whereas there were 19 Presbyters and Deacons in that Church (*Theod. Hist. l. 4. c. 23.*) (12 was the number of their Presbyters by their Antient Constitution, as appears by *Eutychius*, and 7 their Deacons, as at Rome, and elsewhere) 6 Presbyters with *Arius*, and 5 Deacons fell off from the Catholics. *Sozom. Hist. l. 1. c. 14.* But let the *Arians* be much fewer, yet will not the proportion of the Catholick Bishops Diocese in this City, be more than that of a small Town, one of 8 or 12 Furlongs in compass. And so the numbers of the Christians upon this account, will be no more than might well meet for Worship in one place.

F I N I S.



Baxter, Richard,

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